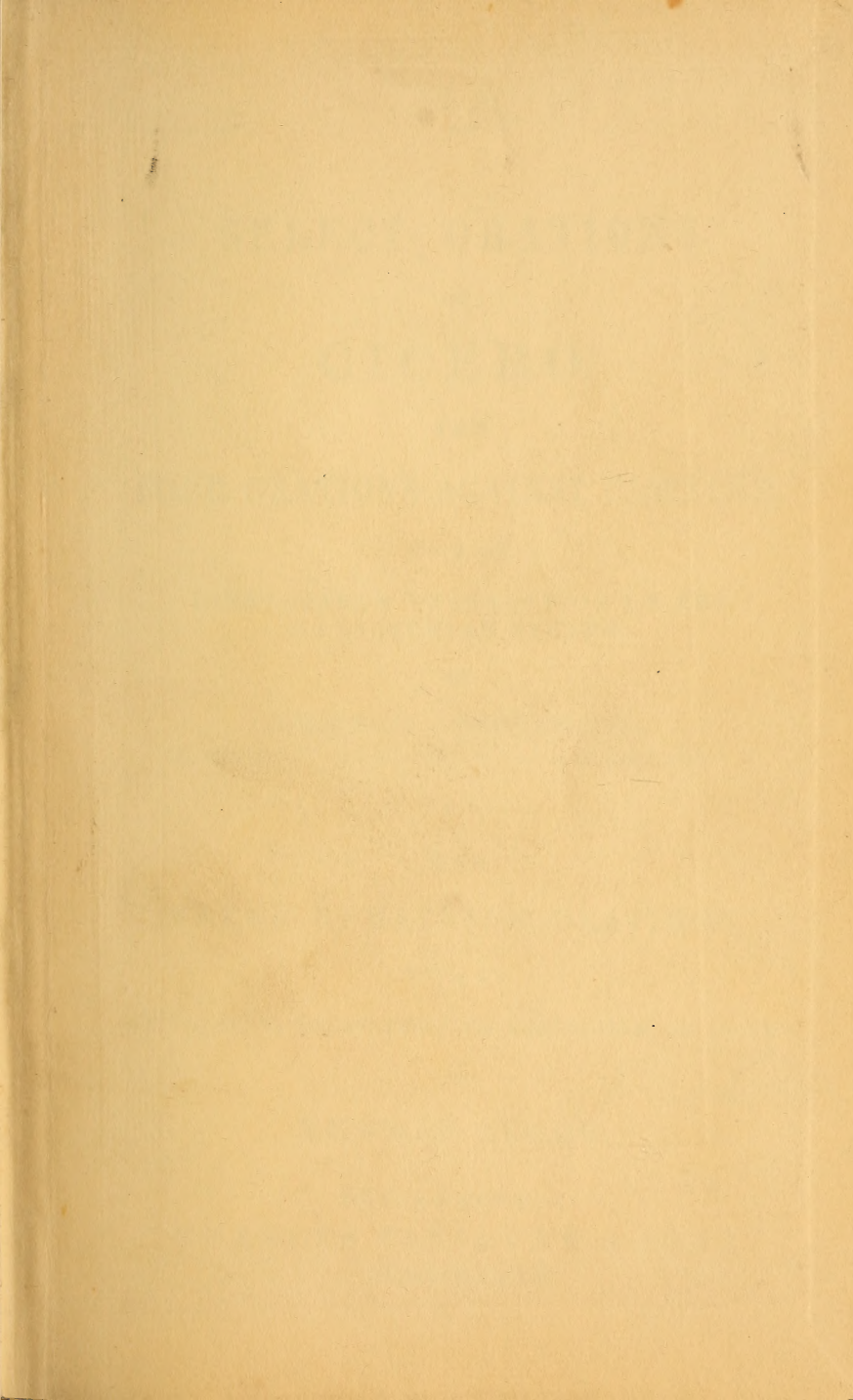


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Cicero, Marcus Tullius  
2

SELECT ORATIONS

OF

CICERO.

650  
779

THE

FOUR ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE,

WITH AN

INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION ON THE  
HAMILTONIAN SYSTEM.

BY

WILLIAM UNDERWOOD,

SON-IN-LAW AND PARTNER OF THE LATE HAMILTON.

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THE

SEVEN REMAINING ORATIONS,

WITH AN

INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION ON THE SYSTEM OF LOCKE

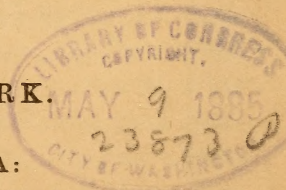
BY

THOMAS CLARK.

PHILADELPHIA:

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## P R E F A C E .

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IN this interlinear translation of Cicero, the four orations against Catiline are translated, according to the Hamiltonian system, by Underwood, the son-in-law and partner of Hamilton. The London edition of these four orations has been carefully revised, and the errors and omissions corrected and supplied; for without the greatest care on the part of the editor, errors and omissions are very apt to occur in interlinear translations.

As these four orations against Catiline constitute so small a portion of the present publication, it may be considered as almost altogether an original interlinear translation of the select orations of Cicero; and that nearly on the plan suggested by the great poet and distinguished Latin scholar, Milton, and the celebrated metaphysician and writer on education, Locke.

The orations expressly translated by the American editor of this Philadelphia edition are: the ORATIO PRO ARCHIA POETA — PRO MARCELLO — PRO LEGE MANILIA — PRO L. MURENA — PRO Q. LIGARIO — PRO REGE DEIOTARIO — PRO T. ANNIO MILONE. Thus making a more complete collection of select orations of Cicero than any published in the United States; containing all

the orations that are read in any of the schools and colleges of this country, and comprising all those in the editions of Anthon, Bullions, Johnson, and others.

As a mere verbal translation would be inadequate to convey the meaning of Cicero in his orations, it has become necessary to add thereto. When such additions only express the thought of the author more intelligibly in English, they are denoted by being placed between parentheses ( ), and constitute a part of the sentence; but when such additions are, as it were, explanations, and do not properly constitute a part of the sentence, they are placed between brackets [ ], and may be considered as short explanatory notes. This applies only to those orations translated by the American editor.

When several words in English are necessary to express a Latin word, such words are united together by hyphens, as:

Quod nuntiaret  
What might-he-announce

but when, in forming an English sentence, a word intervenes between such two or more words that denote a Latin one, the figure ' is placed before the words thus separated, as:

Palam fecerat testamentum.  
'He-had openly 'made (his) will.

This also only applies to the orations translated by the American editor.

THOMAS CLARK.



# TESTIMONIALS

AS TO

## THE MERITS OF

### The Interlinear Translation of the Classics.

---

*Testimony of celebrated men in favour of the interlineary system of translations, as being best adapted for learning a language.*

MILTON.—We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together as much Latin and Greek as might be learned easily and delightfully in one year.

If, after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the *praxis* thereof in some chosen short book *lessoned thoroughly to them*, [that is, read and translated to them], which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most natural and most profitable way of learning languages.

[Children] should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar, either that now used, or any better; and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. Next, to make them expert in the usefulest points of grammar, some easy and delightful book should be read to them.

[By this, Milton means that the teacher should read some easy Latin book to his pupils, and translate and explain it repeatedly, until they understand such Latin book, and can themselves translate it.]

JOHN LOCKE, author of the "Essay on the Human Understanding."—When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the schoolmaster's rod, which they look on as the only instrument of education; as a language or two to be his whole business. How else is it possible that a child should be chained to the oar, seven, eight, or ten of the best years of his life, to get a language or two, which, I think, might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of pains and time, and be learned almost in playing.

[The first project of Locke] is to trouble the child with no grammar at all, but to have Latin as English has been, without the perplexity of rules, talked into him, for, if you will consider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child, when he comes into the world, than English; and yet he learns English without a master, rule, or grammar; and so might he Latin, too, as Tully did, if he had somebody always to talk to him in this language. And when we so often see a French woman teach an English girl to speak and read French perfectly in a year or two, without any rule of grammar, or anything else but prattling to her, I cannot but wonder how gentlemen have overseen this way for their sons. If, therefore, a man could be got, who, himself speaking good Latin, would always be about your son, talk constantly to him, and suffer him to speak and read nothing else, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propose, not only as the easiest and best, wherein a child might, without pains or chiding, get a language which others are wont to be whipt for at school six or seven years together; but also as that wherein, at the same time, he might have his mind and manners formed, and be instructed in all other parts of knowledge of things that fall under the senses, and require little more than memory. But if such a man cannot be got who speaks good Latin, the next best thing is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easy and pleasant book, such as *Æsop's Fables*, and writing the English translation (made as literal as can be) in one line, and the Latin words which answer each of them, just over it in another. These let him read every day, over and over again, till he perfectly understands the Latin; and then go on to another Fable



till he is also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but sometimes reviewing that to keep it in his memory.

The formation of the verb first, and afterwards the declensions of the nouns and pronouns, perfectly learned by heart, facilitate his acquaintance with the genius and manner of the Latin tongue, which varies the signification of verbs and nouns, not as the modern languages do, by particles prefixed, but by changing the last syllable. More than this of grammar, I think, he need not have, till he can read himself Sanctii Minerva.

As he advances in acquiring a knowledge of words, he must advance, *pari pasu*, in obtaining a thorough and critical knowledge of grammar. When by this way of interlining Latin and English one with another, he has got a moderate knowledge of the Latin tongue, he may then be advanced a little farther, to the reading of some other easy Latin book, such as Justin, or Eutropius; and, to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself with the English translation. Nor let the objection, that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well considered, is not of any moment against, but plainly for, this way of learning a language. For languages are only to be learned by rote; and a man who does not speak English and Latin perfectly by rote, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his tongue, of course without thought of rule or grammar, falls into the proper expression and idiom of that language, does not speak it well, nor is master of it. Languages were made, not by rules of art, but by accident, and the common use of the people; and he that speaks them well has no other rule but that, nor anything to trust to but his memory, and the habit of speaking, after the fashion learned from those that are allowed to speak properly, which, in other words, is only to speak by rote.

**SYDNEY SMITH.**—The Hamiltonian system, on the other hand: 1st. Teaches an unknown tongue by the closest interlinear translations, instead of leaving a boy to explore his way by the lexicon or dictionary. 2d. It postpones the study of grammar till a considerable progress has been made in the language, and a great degree of practical grammar has been acquired. 3d. It substitutes the cheerfulness and competition of the Lancasterian

system for the dull solitude of the dictionary. By these means a boy finds he is making a progress, and learning something from the very beginning. He is not overwhelmed with the first appearance of insuperable difficulties; he receives some little pay from the first moment of his apprenticeship, and is not compelled to wait for remuneration till he is out of his time. The student, having acquired the great art of understanding the sense of what is written in another tongue, may go into the study of the language as deeply and as extensively as he pleases. The old system aims at beginning with a depth and accuracy which many men never will want, which disgusts many from arriving even at moderate attainments, and is a less easy, and not more certain road to a profound skill in a language, than if attention to grammar had been deferred to a later period.

In fine, we are strongly persuaded that, the time being given, this system will make better scholars; and, the degree of scholarship being given, a much shorter time will be needed. If there is any truth in this, it will make Mr. Hamilton one of the most useful men of his age; for, if there is anything which fills reflecting men with melancholy and regret, it is the waste of mortal time, parental money, and puerile happiness, in the present method of pursuing Latin and Greek.



VIRGIL, HORACE, CÆSAR, CICERO, OVID, SALLUST, JUVENAL, LIVY, XENOPHON'S ANABASIS, HOMER'S ILIAD, and the GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, have already been published on the interlinear plan, and will be succeeded by the other Classics, as speedily as is consistent with accurate preparation, and the importance of the undertaking.

CHARLES DESILVER,

1229 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

### SPECIAL AGENTS.

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PRIMA ORATIO  
*THE FIRST ORATION*  
 MARCI TULLII CICERONIS IN LUCIUM  
 CATILINAM,  
*OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST*  
*LUCIUS CATILINE,*

HABITA IN SENATU.  
*HELD (DELIVERED) IN THE SENATE.*



1. QUOUSQUE	tandem	abutêre	nostrâ
How far	at length	wilt thou abuse	with our
patientîâ, Catilina?	Quamdiu	etiam	iste tuus
patience, O Catiline?	How long	also	that thy
furor eludet nos?	ad quem finem	effrenata	
fury will (it) elude us?	to what end	(thy) unbridled	
audacia jactabit sese?	ne nocturnum		
audacity will (it) boast itself?	whether	the nightly	
præsidium	Palatii	(movit)	te
guard	of the Palatium	(has (that) moved)	thee
nihil		vigiliæ	urbis
nothing (has that in no respect affected thee), the watches of the city			
(moverunt)	nihil,	timor	populi
have (they) moved (thee)	nothing,	the fear	of the people
	nihil,	concursus	omnium bonorum
(has that moved thee)	nothing,	the assemblage	of all the good
	nihil,	hic munitissimus	locus
(has that moved thee)	nothing,	this most fortified	place
senatûs habendi			
of a senate to be held	(of holding a senate) (has that moved thee)		
nihil, ora que vultus horum			move
nothing, the faces and looks	of these (senators) have (these)		



runt nihil? Sentis non tua consilia  
moved (thee) nothing? Perceivest thou not thy counsels

patere? Vides non tuam conjurationem  
to be open (to be exposed)? Seest thou not thy conspiracy

jam teneri constrictam conscientiâ omnium  
already to be held bound by the consciousness of all

horum? Quem nostrum arbitraris  
these (senators)? Whom of us supposest thou

ignorare quid egeris proximâ,  
to be ignorant what thou mayest have acted on the nearest

quid superiore nocte, ubi fueris,  
(last night), what on the former night, where thou mayest have been

quos convocaveris, quid consilii  
whom thou mayest have called together, what of counsel

ceperis? O tempora! O mores. Senatus  
thou mayest have taken? O the times! O the manners. The senate

intelligit hæc, consul videt, tamen hic vivit.  
understands this, the consul sees (it), yet this (Catiline) lives.

Vivit? imo, verò; etiam venit in senatum. Fit  
Lives? yes, truly; even comes into the senate. He becomes

particeps publici consilii: notat et designat  
a partaker of the public counsel: he notes and marks out

oculis unumquemque nostrum ad cædem.  
with (his) eyes each of us to (for) slaughter

Autem nos fortes viri videmur satisfacere reipublicæ,  
But we brave men seem to do enough for the republic,

si vitemus furorem, ac tela istius.  
if we may avoid the fury, and the weapons of that (Catiline).

Oportebat te, Catilina, jampridem duci ad  
It did behove thee, O Catiline, long since to be led to

mortem jussu consulis: istam pestem,  
death by order of the consul: (it behoved) that pest (destruction),

quam tu machinaris jam diu in nos omnes,  
which thou contrivest already a long time against us all,

conferri in te. Verò an amplissimus  
to be brought upon thee. But whether the most ample (most hon-

vir, P. Scipio, maximus pontifex, privatus  
curable) man, P. Scipio, the greatest priest, (as) a private (person)

interfecit Tiberium Gracchum, mediocriter labe-  
slew Tiberius Gracchus, moderately making

factantem statum reipublicæ: verò nos consules  
to totter the state of the republic: but we consuls,

perferemus Catilinam cupientem vastare orbem  
shall we endure Catiline desiring to lay waste the globe

terræ cæde, atque incendiis? Nam  
of the earth with slaughter, and with conflagrations? For

prætereo illa nimis antiqua, quòd Q. Servilius  
I pass over those too ancient (examples) that Q. Servilius

Ahala occidit suâ manu Spurium Melium,  
Ahala killed with his own hand Spurius Melius,

studentem novis rebus. Ista  
studying for new things (having revolutionary designs). That

virtus fuit, fuit quondam in hac republicâ, ut  
virtue has been, has been once in this republic, that

fortes viri coërcerent perniciosum civem acrioribus  
brave men would check a pernicious citizen with sharper

suppliciis quàm acerbissimum hostem. Enim  
(more severe) punishments than the most bitter enemy. For

habemus vehemens et grave senatusconsultum  
we have a vehement and heavy (severe) decree of the senate

in te, Catilina: non consilium neque auctoritas  
against thee, O Catiline: not the counsel nor the authority

hujus ordinis deest reipublicæ; nos dico  
of this order (of the senate) is wanting to the republic; we I say

apertè, nos consules desumus.

openly, we consuls are wanting (to it).

2. Senatus quondam decrevit, ut L. Opimius  
The senate once decreed, that L. Opimius

consul videret, ne respublica caperet quid  
the consul should see, lest the republic might take any (thing)

detrimenti: nulla nox intercessit; C. Gracchus,  
of detriment: no night intervened; C. Gracchus,

clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus,  
born from a most famous father, grandfather, (and) ancestors,

interfectus est propter quasdam suspiciones seditionum:  
was slain because of some suspicious of seditions:

M. Fulvius, consularis, occisus est, cum liberis.  
 M. Fulvius, a consular (man), was killed, with (his) children,

Simili senatusconsulto respublica permissa est  
 By a like decree of the senate the republic was permitted

C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus; num  
 (confided) to C. Marius and to L. Valerius the consuls; whether

mors ac pœna reipublicæ remorata est  
 death and the punishment of the republic retarded (fail to overtake)

L. Saturninum, tribunum plebis, et  
 L. Saturninus, tribune of the common people, and

C. Servilium, prætorem, unum diem postea? At nos  
 C. Servilius, the prætor, one day afterwards? But we

patimur aciem auctoritatis horum  
 suffer the edge of the authority of these (the senators)

hebescere jam vicesimum diem. Enim habemus  
 to become blunt already the twentieth day. For we have

senatusconsultum hujusmodi, verumtamen inclusum  
 a decree of the senate of this sort, nevertheless inclosed

in tabulis, tanquam gladium reconditum in vagina:  
 in the tablets, as if a sword hidden in the scabbard:

ex quo senatusconsulto convenit te, Catilina,  
 from which decree of the senate it was fit thee, O Catiline,

interfectum esse confestim. Vivis; et vivis  
 to have been slain immediately. Thou livest; and thou livest

non ad audaciam deponendam, sed ad  
 not to (for) audacity to be placed down, but to (for thy audacity)

confirmandam. Conscripti Patres, cupio me  
 to be confirmed. Conscript Fathers, I desire myself

esse clementem; cupio me non videri dissolutum  
 to be mild; I desire myself not to seem dissolute

in tantis periculis reipublicæ: sed jam  
 (negligent) in so great dangers of the republic: but now

condemno me ipsum inertiae que nequitiae.  
 I condemn myself of inactivity and of negligence.

Castra collocata sunt in Italiâ contra rempublicam,  
 Camps have been placed in Italy against the republic,

in faucibus Etruriæ: numerus hostium  
 in the jaws (passage) of Tuscany: the number of the enemies



crescit in singulos dies : autem videmus  
increases into single days (daily) : but we see

imperatorem eorum castrorum, que ducem hostium,  
the commander of those camps, and leader of the enemies,

intra mœnia, atque adeo in senatu, molientem  
within the walls, and even in the senate, attempting

quotidie aliquam intestinam perniciem reipublicæ. Si  
daily some intestine destruction to the republic. If

jussero te, Catilina, jam comprehendi ; si  
I shall have ordered thee, O Catiline, now to be seized ; if

interfici, credo, erit verendum  
(I shall have ordered thee) to be slain, I believe, it will be to be feared

mihi, ne omnes boni hoc factum esse  
to me (by me), lest all the good (may say) this to have been done

non serius à me, potius quam quisquam dicat  
not too late by me, rather than any (person) may say

crudelius. Verum ego nondum  
(it to have been done) too cruelly. But I not yet

adducor ut faciam hoc, quod oportuit factum esse  
am led that I may do this, which it has behoved to have been done

jampridem, de certâ causâ. Tum denique  
long since, from a certain cause. Then at last

interficiam te, cum jam nemo poterit inveniri  
I will slay thee, when now nobody will be able to be found

tam improbus, tam perditus, tam similis tui,  
so wicked, so lost (abandoned), so like of thyself,

qui fateatur non id factum esse jure.  
who may confess not that to have been done by right.

Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui audeat defendere te,  
As long as any (person) shall be, who may dare to defend thee,

vives ; et vives ita ut vivis nunc,  
thou shalt live ; and thou shalt live so as thou livest now,

obsessus meis multis et firmis præsiidiis, ne  
beset by my many and firm guards, lest

possis commovere te contra rempublicam.  
thou mayest be able to move thyself against the republic.

Etiam oculi et aures multorum speculabuntur atque  
Also the eyes and ears of many shall spy and

custodient te non sentientem, sicut fecerunt  
shall watch thee not perceiving, so as they have done

adhuc.

*hitherto,*

3. Etenim quid est quod expectes jam  
For what is it which thou mayest expect now

amplius, Catilina, si neque nox potest obscurare  
more, Catiline, if neither night is able to conceal

tenebris nefarios cœtus nec privata domus  
with darknesses (thy) impious assemblies, nor a private house

continere vocem tuæ conjurationis parietibus? si  
to contain the voice of thy conspiracy with (its) walls? if

omnia illustrantur, si erumpunt? Muta  
all (things) are brought to light, if they burst forth? Change

jam istam mentem: crede mihi: obliviscere cædis  
now that mind: believe to me: forget of slaughter

atque incendiorum: teneris undique: omnia  
and of conflagrations: thou art held on all sides: all

tua consilia sunt clariora nobis luce: quæ  
thy counsels are clearer to us than light: which (things)

licet etiam recognoscas mecum. Ne  
it is allowed even thou mayest recognise with me. Whether

meministi me dicere in senatu ante  
hast thou remembered me to say in the senate before

duodecimum diem kalendarum Novembris, C. Manlium,  
the twelfth day of the calends of November, C. Manlius,

satellitum atque administrum tuæ audaciæ, fore  
the attendant and assistant of thy audacity, to be about to be

in armis certo die, qui dies esset futurus ante  
in arms on a certain day, which day might be about to be before

sextum diem kalendarum Novembris? Num  
the sixth day of the calends of November? Whether

Catilina non modo tanta, tam atrox, tam  
Catiline not only so great, so atrocious, so

incredibilis res fefellit me, verum, id quod est  
incredible a thing deceived me, but, that which is

multo magis admirandum, dies? Ego idem  
by much more to be wondered at, the day? I the same (person)

dixi in senatu, te contulisse cædem  
said in senate, thee to have appointed the slaughter

optimatum in ante quintum diem kalendarum  
of the aristocracy unto (the day) before the fifth day of the calend

Novembris, tum cum multi principes civitatis  
of November, then when many chief (persons) of the state

profugerunt Româ, non tam causâ sui  
fled from Rome, not so (much) for the sake of themselves

conservandi, quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum.  
to be preserved, as of thy counsels to be repressed

Num potes —  
(as for the sake of repressing thy designs). Whether art thou able

infitiari, te circumclusum meis præsiidiis, meâ  
to deny thyself being closed around by my guards, by my

diligentiâ illo die ipso, potuisse non commovere  
diligence on that day itself, to have been able not to move

te contra rempublicam? cum tu, discessu  
thyself against the republic? when thou, at the departure

cæterorum, dicebas te esse contentum tamen nostrâ  
of the rest, didst say thyself to be content yet with our

cæde qui remansissemus. Quid!  
slaughter (with the slaughter of us) who might have remained. What!

cum tu confideres te esse occupaturum Præneste  
when thou mightest trust thyself to be about to occupy Præneste

nocturno impetu kalendis ipsis Novembris:  
by a nocturnal attack on the calends themselves of November:

ne sensisti illam coloniam munitam esse  
whether hast thou perceived that colony to have been fortified

meo jussu, meis præsiidiis, custodiis, que vigiliis?  
by my order, by my garrisons, guards, and watches?

Agis nihil, moliris nihil, cogitas  
Thou actest nothing, thou attemptest nothing, thou thinkest (devisest)

nihil, quod ego non modo audiam non, sed etiam  
nothing, which I not only may hear not, but even

videam non, que planè sentiam.  
may see not, and plainly may perceive.

4. Recognosce tandem mecum illam superiorem  
Recognise (call to mind) at length with me that former



noctem: jam intelliges me vigilare multo  
 night: now thou wilt understand me to watch by much

acrius ad salutem reipublicæ quam te ad  
 more sharply to (for) the safety of the republic than thyself to (for)

perniciem. Dico te venisse priori nocte  
 the destruction (of it). I say thee to have come on the former night

inter falcarios (agam  
 among scythe-makers (into the scythe-maker's street) (I will act (speak)

non obscure), in domum M. Leccæ: complures  
 not obscurely), into the house of M. Lecca: (I say) many

socios ejusdem amentiae que sceleris convenisse  
 partners of the same madness and crime to have come together

eodem. Num audes negare? Quid!  
 to the same place. Whether darest thou to deny (it)? What!

taces? Convincam, si negas. Enim  
 art thou silent? I will convict (thee), if thou deniest. For

video quosdam esse hic in senatu qui fuere  
 I see some (persons) to be here in the senate who were

unà cum te. O immortales dii! ubinam gentium  
 together with thee. O immortal gods! where of nations

sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam  
 (where in the world) are we? in what city do we live? what

republicam habemus? Sunt hic, hic in  
 republic have we? There are (persons) here, here in

nostro numero, conscripti patres, in hoc sanctissimo  
 our number, conscript fathers, in this most sacred

que gravissimo consilio orbis terræ, qui  
 and most weighty (dignified) council of the globe of the earth, who

cogitent de meo interitu, que  
 may devise concerning my destruction, and (the destruction)

nostrum omnium, qui de exitio hujus  
 of us all, who (devise) concerning the destruction of this

urbis, atque adeo orbis terrarum. Ego consul  
 city, and even of the globe of the earths. I the consul

video hosce, et rogo sententiam de republica:  
 see these (persons), and I ask opinion concerning the republic:

et vulnero eos nondum voce, quos oportebat  
 and I wound those not yet with (my) voice, whom it did behoove

trucidari ferro. Igitur, Catilina,  
 to be slaughtered with the iron (sword). Therefore, Catiline,  
 fuisti apud Leccam illâ nocte:  
 thou wast at Lecca (at Lecca's house) on that night:  
 distribuisti partes Italiæ; statuisti quo  
 thou distributedst the parts of Italy; thou appointedst whither  
 placeret quemque proficisci; delegisti  
 it might please (thee) each to depart; thou selectedst  
 quos relinqueres Romæ, quos educeres  
 whom thou mightest leave of (at) Rome, whom thou mightest lead out  
 cum te; descripsisti partes urbis ad  
 with thee; thou describedst parts of the city to (for)  
 incendia; confirmasti te ipsum jam  
 conflagrations; thou confirmedst (affirmedst) thyself now (soon)  
 esse exiturum; dixisti esse etiam tum  
 to be about to go out; thou saidst to be (that there was) even then  
 paullulum moræ tibi, quod ego viverem. Duo  
 a very little of delay to thee, because I might live. Two  
 Romani equites reperti sunt qui liberarent te istâ  
 Roman knights were found who might free thee from that  
 curâ, et pollicerentur sese interfecturos  
 care, and might promise themselves (to be) about to slay  
 me in meo lectulo illâ nocte ipsâ, paullo ante  
 me in my little bed on that night itself, a little before  
 lucem. Ego comperi omnia hæc, etiam vestro  
 light. I discovered all these (things), even your  
 cœtu vix dum dimisso: munivi atque  
 assembly scarcely yet being dismissed: I fortified and  
 firmavi meam domum majoribus præsiidiis;  
 I strengthened my house with greater (stronger) guards;  
 exclusi eos quos tu miseras ad me mane  
 I excluded those whom thou hadst sent to me in the morning  
 salutatum, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos  
 to salute (me), when those (persons) themselves might have come, whom  
 ego jam prædixeram multis ac summis viris  
 I already had foretold to many and to the highest men  
 esse venturos ad me id temporis.  
 to be about to come to me (at) that of time.

5. Cum quæ sint ita, Catilina,  
 When (since) which (things) may be thus, Catiline,  
 perge quò cœpisti; egredere aliquando  
 proceed whither thou hast begun; go out sometimes  
 ex urbe; portæ patent, proficiscere: illa  
 (at length) out of the city; the gates are open, depart: those  
 tua Manliana castra desiderant nimium diu te  
 thy Manlian camps want too long thee (their)  
 imperatorem. Educ cum te etiam omnes tuos;  
 commander. Lead out with thee also all thy  
 si minus, quam plurimos: purga  
 (associates); if less (if not all), as many as possible: cleanse  
 urbem: liberabis me magno metu, dummodo  
 the city: thou wilt free me from great fear, provided that  
 murus intersit inter me atque te:  
 the wall (the city wall) may be between between me and thee:  
 potes non versari jam diutius cum nobis:  
 thou art able not to be engaged now longer with us:  
 feram non, patiar non, sinam non.  
 I will bear (it) not, I will suffer (it) not, I will permit (it) not.  
 Magna gratia est habenda  
 Great favour is to be had (great thanks must be given)  
 immortalibus diis, atque huic Jovi Statori ipsi,  
 to the immortal gods, and to this Jupiter Stator himself,  
 antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, quòd effugimus  
 the most ancient guardian of this city, that we have escaped  
 jam toties hanc tam tætram, tam horribilem  
 now so many times this so foul, so horrible  
 pestem que tam infestam reipublicæ. Summa salus  
 plague and so hostile to the republic. The highest safety  
 reipublicæ est non periclitanda sæpius in uno  
 of the republic is not to be endangered too often in one  
 homine. Quamdiu insidiatus es mihi, consuli  
 man. As long as thou plottedst against to me, the consul  
 designato, Catilina defendi me non publico  
 elect, Catiline I defended myself not by a public  
 præsidio, sed privatâ diligentia: cum proximis  
 guard, but by private diligence: when at the nearest (last



consularibus comitiis voluisti interficere me, consulem,  
consular elections thou wishedst to slay me, the consul,

et competitores in campo,  
and (thy) competitors in the plain, (the Campus Martius),

compressi tuos nefarios conatus præsidio et copiis  
I repressed thy impious attempts with a guard and forces

amicorum, nullo tumultu concitato publice: denique,  
of friends, no tumult being excited publicly: lastly,

quotiescunque petisti me, obstiti tibi  
as often as thou hast sought (aimed at) me, I have opposed to thee

per me, quamquam videbam meam perniciem esse  
(by) myself, although I did see my destruction to be

conjunctam cum magnâ calamitate reipublicæ.  
conjoined with a great calamity of the republic.

Nunc jam petis universam rempublicam  
Even now thou seekest (aimest at) the whole republic

aperte. Vocas templa immortalium deorum,  
openly. Thou callest the temples of the immortal gods,

tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium,  
the roofs (houses) of the city, the life of all the citizens,

denique, totam Italiam, ad exitium et vastitatem.  
lastly (in fine), the whole Italy, to destruction and devastation.

Quare quoniam audeo nondum facere id, quod est  
Wherefore because I dare not yet to do that, which is

primum atque proprium hujus imperii  
the first and proper (peculiar duty) of this command (of the

que disciplinæ majorum:  
consular power) and of the discipline (custom) of (our) ancestors:

faciam id quod est lenius ad severitatem,  
I will do that which is milder to (as to) severity,

et utilius ad communem salutem; nam si  
and more useful to (as to) the common safety; for if

jussero te interfici, reliqua manus  
I shall have ordered thee to be slain, the remaining hand (band

conjuratorum residebit in republica: sin tu  
of the conspirators will settle in the republic: but if thou

exieris, (quod hortor te jamdudum), magna  
shalt have gone out (which I exhort thee long since), the great

et pernicioſa ſentina [reipublicæ], tuorum comitum,  
and pernicious ſink [to the republic], of thy companions,  
exhaurietur ex urbe. Quid eſt, Catilina?  
will be drawn off out of the city. What is it, Catiline?

Num dubitas facere id, me  
Whether doubtſt thou (doſt thou hesitate) to do that, me

imperante, quod jam faciebas  
commanding, which now (juſt now) thou didſt do (waſt about to do)

tuâ ſponte? Conſul jubet hoſtem exire  
by thy own accord? The conſul orders (thee) an enemy to go out

ex urbe: interrogas me, num in exilium? Jubeo  
out of the city: doſt thou aſk me, whether into exile? I order

non; ſed ſi conſulis me, ſuadeo.

(thee) not; but if thou conſulteſt me, I perſuade (thee to do ſo).

↑ 6. Enim quid, Catilina, eſt, quod jam poſſit  
For what, Catiline, is there, which now may be able

delectare te in hac urbe? In quâ eſt nemo,  
to delight thee in this city? In which there is no one,

extra iſtam conjurationem perditorum  
without (unconnected with) that conspiracy of loſt (aban-

doned) hominum, qui metuit non te; nemo qui  
men, who fears not thee; no one who

oderit non. Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis  
may have hated not (thee). What mark of domeſtic turpitude

eſt non inuſta tuæ vitæ? Quod dedecus privatarum  
is not branded to thy life? What diſgrace of private

rerum hæret non infamiæ? Quæ libido abſuit  
things adheres not to (thy) infamy? What luſt has been abſent

ab oculis, quod facinus umquam à  
from (thy) eyes, what bad deed (has been abſent) ever from

tuis manibus, quod flagitium a toto corpore?  
thy hands, what villany from (thy) whole body?

Cui adolescentulo, quem irretiſſes  
To what youth, whom thou mighteſt have enſnared

illecebris corruptelarum, tu prætulisti non  
by the allurements of debaucheries, thou haſt borne before not

aut ferrum ad audaciam, aut facem ad libidinem?  
either a ſword to (for) audacity, or a torch to (for) luſt?

Vero quid! nuper cum morte  
But what (why shall I mention)! lately when at the death

superioris uxoris vacuefecisses domum  
of (thy) former wife thou mightest have made vacant (thy) house

novis nuptiis, ne cumulasti non hoc  
for new nuptials, whether hast thou heaped up (augmented) not this

scelus etiam alio incredibili scelere? Quod ego  
crime also by another incredible crime? Which I

prætermitto, et facile patior sileri, ne  
pass by (omit), and easily suffer to be kept silent, lest

immanitas tanti facinoris videatur aut  
the monstrousness of so great a wicked deed may seem either

exitisse in hâc civitate, aut non vindicata esse.  
to have existed in this state, or not to have been punished.

Prætermitto ruinas tuarum fortunarum, omnes quas  
I pass by the ruins of thy fortunes, all which

senties impendere tibi proximis Idibus:  
thou wilt perceive to hang over to thee at the nearest (next) Ides:

venio ad illa quæ pertinent non ad privatam  
I come to those (things) which pertain not to the private

ignominiam tuorum vitiorum, non ad tuam domesticam  
disgrace of thy vices, not to thy domestic

difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam  
difficulty and turpitude, but to the sum (the whole)

reipublicæ, atque ad vitam que salutem nostrum  
of the republic, and to the life and the safety of us

omnium. Ne lux hujus vitæ, aut spiritus hujus  
all. Whether the light of this life, or the breadth of this

cœli potest esse jucundus tibi, Catilina,  
heaven (atmosphere) is able to be pleasant to thee, Catiline,

cum scias, esse neminem horum  
when thou mayest know, to be (that there is) no one of these (sena-

qui nesciat te stetisse cum  
ters) who may not know thee to have stood (that you stood) with

telo in comitio pridie kalendas  
a weapon in the assembly house the day before the calends

Januarias, Lepido et Tullo consulibus?  
belonging to January, Lepidus and Tullus (being) consuls?



Paravisse manum causâ consulum et  
To have prepared a hand (band) for the sake of the consuls and

principum civitatis interficiendorum? Non  
of the chief (persons) of the state to be slain? Not

aliquam mentem, aut tuum timorem, sed  
any mind, or thy fear (fear of thine), but

fortunam reipublicæ obstitisse tuo sceleri  
the (good) fortune of the republic to have opposed to thy wickedness

ac furori? Ac jam omitto illa: enim neque  
and fury? And now I omit those (things): for neither

sunt commissa post obscura, aut non  
are (the crimes) committed (by thee) afterwards obscure, or not

multa. Quoties tu conatus es interficere me  
many. How often thou hast endeavoured to slay me

designatum; quoties consulem?  
(being consul) elect; how often (being) consul?

Quot tuas petitiones ita conjectas,  
How many thy aims (how many thrusts of thine) so cast (directed),

ut viderentur non posse vitari, ego effugi  
that they might seem not to be able to be avoided, I have escaped

quadam parvâ declinatione, et, ut aiunt, corpore?  
by a certain small bending, and, as they say, with the body?

Agis nihil, assequeris nihil, moliris nihil,  
Thou actest nothing, thou attainest nothing, thou attemptest nothing,

quod valeat latere mihi, in tempore: neque  
which may be able to lie hid from me, in the time: nor

tamen desistis conari ac yelle. Quoties  
yet dost thou desist to endeavour and to wish. How often

jam ista sica extorta est tibi de  
now (already) that poniard has been wrested from thee from

manibus? Vero quoties excidit et elapsa est  
the hands? But how often it has fallen out and has slipped out

aliquo casu? Tamen potes non carere eâ  
by some accident? Yet thou art able not to be without it

diutius: quæ quidem quibus sacris  
longer: which (poniard) indeed to what sacred rites

initiata sit ac devota abs te nescio, quod  
it may have been initiated and devoted by thee I know not, that

putas                    necesse            defigere eam    in   corpore  
 thou thinkest (it)    necessary        to fix            it        in       the body

consulis.  
 of the consul.

7. Vero nunc, quæ est ista tua vita? Enim jam  
 But now, what is that thy life? For now

loquar cum te sic, ut videar non esse permotus  
 I will speak with thee so, that I may seem not to be moved

odio quo debeo, sed ut  
 with the hatred with which I ought, but that (I may seem to be moved)

misericiordiâ, quæ nulla debetur tibi.  
 with pity, which none (none of which) is due to thee.

Venisti paullo ante in senatum: quis ex hæc  
 Thou camest a little before into the senate: who out of this

tantâ frequentiâ, ex tot tuis amicis ac  
 so great assemblage, out of so many thy friends and

necessariis, salutavit te? Si hoc contigit nemini  
 acquaintances, saluted thee? If this has befallen to no one

post memoriam hominum, expectas contumeliâ  
 after (since) the memory of men, dost thou wait for reproach

vocis cum sis oppressus gravissimo  
 of voice when thou mayst be (thou art) oppressed by the most heavy

judicio taciturnitatis? Quid, quod tuo  
 judgment of silence? Why (why should I mention), that at thy

adventu ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? Quod omnes  
 arrival those seats were made vacant? That all

consulares, qui persæpe fuerunt constituti  
 the consular (persons), who very often have been appointed

tibi ad cædem, reliquerunt istam partem  
 to (by) thee to (for) slaughter, left that part

subselliorum nudam atque inanem simul atque  
 of the seats naked and empty as soon as

assedist? Quo animo tandem putas hoc  
 thou satest near? With what mind at length dost thou think this

ferendum tibi? Mehercle, si mei servi metuerent  
 to be borne to (by) thee? By Hercules, if my slaves might fear

me isto pacto, ut omnes tui cives  
 me by that agreement (in that manner), as all thy citizens

metuunt te, putarem meam domum  
fear thee, I should think my house (ought)

relinquendam: arbitraris tu non urbem  
to be left: thinkest thou not (that) the city (ought to be

tibi? Et, si viderem me tam graviter  
(left) to (by) thee? And, if I might see myself so heavily

suspectum atque offensum meis civibus injuriâ,  
suspected and offensive to my citizens (even) with injustice,

mallem me carere aspectu civium quam  
I would rather myself to be-without the sight of (my citizens), than

conspici infestis oculis omnium: cum tu  
to be-viewed with the hostile eyes of all: when thou

agnoscas conscientiâ tuorum scelerum justum  
mayst-recognise by a consciousness of thy crimes the just

odium omnium, et jam diu debitum tibi, dubitas  
hatred of all, and now a-long-time due to thee, doubtest thou

vitare aspectum que præsentiam eorum,  
(dost thou hesitate) to avoid the sight and the presence of those,

mentes que sensus quorum vulneras? Si tui  
the minds and feelings of whom thou woundest? If thy

parentes timerent atque odissent te, neque  
parents might-fear and might-have-hated thee, neither

posses placare eos ullâ ratione,  
thou mightest-be-able to appease them by any reason (means),

concederes, ut opinor, aliquo ab oculis eorum:  
thou shouldst-retire, as I think, some-whither from the eyes of them:

{ nunc patria, quæ est communis parens nostrum  
now the country, which is the common parent of us  
omnium, odit ac metuit te; et jam diu  
all, has-hated (hates) and fears thee; and already a long-time

judicat nihil de te, nisi cogitare  
judges nothing concerning thee, unless to devise (that you devise)

de suo parricidio. Tu verebere neque  
concerning her parricide (destruction). Wilt-thou-reverence neither

auctoritatem hujus, neque sequere  
the authority of this (of her), nor wilt-thou-follow (her)

judicium, neque pertimesces vim? Quæ  
judgment, nor wilt-thou-fear (her) force? Which



sic agit cum te, Catilina, et  
 (the country) thus acts (pleads) with thee, Catiline, and  
 quodammodo tacita loquitur. Nullum facinus  
 in some-manner silent speaks. No wicked-deed  
 exstitit jam aliquot annis, nisi per te; nullum  
 has-existed now (for) some years, unless through thee; no  
 flagitium sine te: tibi uni neces multorum  
 villany without thee: to thee one (alone) the deaths of many  
 civium, tibi vexatio que direptio sociorum  
 citizens, to thee (alone) the harassing and plundering of allies  
 fuit impunita ac libera: tu valuisti non solum  
 has-been unpunished and free: thou hast-been-able not only  
 ad leges ac quæstiones negligendas, verum  
 to (for) laws and (judicial) inquiries to be neglected, but  
 etiam ad evertendas que perfringendas.  
 even to (for them) to be-overturned and to be-broken-through.  
 Quamquam illa superiora fuerunt non ferenda,  
 Although those former (villanies) have-been not to be borne  
 tamen tuli ut  
 (ought not to have been borne), yet I have borne (them), as  
 potui: vero nunc totam me esse in  
 I was-able: but now the whole myself (for my whole self) to be in  
 metu propter te unum; quidquid increpuerit,  
 fear because-of thee one (alone); whatever may-have-made-a-noise,  
 Catilinam timeri;  
 Catiline is to be-feared; (that Catiline should be the sole cause of  
 nullum consilium videri posse  
 fear in every disturbance); (for) . no design to seem to be-able  
 iniri contra me, quod abhorreat  
 to be-entered-on against me, which may-abhor (be inconsistent with)  
 a tuo scelere; est non ferendum. Quamobrem  
 from thy crime; (this) is not to be-borne. Wherefore  
 discede, atque eripe hunc timorem mihi, ne  
 depart, and take away this fear from me, lest  
 opprimar, si est verus;  
 I may-be-oppressed (that I may not be oppressed), if it is a true (fear);  
 sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando desinam timere.  
 but-if false, that at-length sometimes I may-cessae to fear.

8. Si patria loquatur hæc cum te, ut  
 If (thy) country may-speak these (things) with thee, as  
 dixi, ne debeat non impetrare,  
 I have-said, whether may-she-owe not (ought she not) to obtain  
 etiam si possit non adhibere vim?  
 (her request), even if she may-be-able not to apply force?  
 Quid? quod tu ipse dedisti te  
 What (why should I mention)? that thou-thyself hast-given thyself  
 in custodiam? Quid? quod causâ suspicionis  
 into custody? What (why)? that for-the-sake of suspicion  
 vitandæ, dixisti te velle habitare  
 to be-avoided, thou saidst thyself to wish (that thou wishedst) to reside  
 apud M. Lepidum? A quo receptus non, ausus es  
 at M. Lepidus? By whom being-received not, thou hast-dared  
 etiam venire ad me; atque rogasti ut  
 even to come to me; and thou askedst (me) that  
 asservarem te meæ domi: cum tulisses  
 I-would-guard you in my house: when thou mightest-have-borne  
 id responsum quoque a me, me  
 (thou hadst received) that answer also from me, myself  
 posse esse tuto nullo modo cum te  
 to be-able to be (that I could be) safely in no manner with thee  
 iisdem parietibus, qui essem in magno periculo,  
 in the same walls (of a house), who might-be in great danger,  
 quod contineremur iisdem mœnibus; venisti  
 because we might-be-contained in the same city-walls; thou camest  
 ad Q. Metellum, prætorem: a quo repudiatus,  
 to Q. Metellus, the prætor: by whom being-rejected,  
 demigrasti ad tuum sodalem, optimum virum,  
 thou wentest-over to thy companion, the best man  
 M. Marcellum, quem tu videlicet  
 (that very good man), M. Marcellus, whom thou forsooth  
 putasti fore et diligentissimum  
 thoughtest to be-about-to-be (would be) both most-diligent  
 ad te custodiendum et sagacissimum ad  
 to (for) thee to be-guarded (to guard thee), and most-sagacious to  
 suspicandum et fortissimum ad  
 (for) suspecting (thee) and most-brave to (for thee)

vindicandum.

Sed quam longe videtur  
to be-punished (for punishing thee). But how far does-he-seem

debere abesse a carcere atque a vinculis, qui  
to-ought to be-absent from prison and from bonds, who

ipse jam judicaverit se dignum custodiâ?  
himself now (already) may have-judged himself worthy with custody

Cum quæ sint ita, Catilina,  
(of custody)? When (since) which (things) may-be thus, Catiline,

dubitas, si potes non morari hic  
doubtest thou (dost thou hesitate), if thou-art-able not to delay here

æquo animo, abire in aliquas terras, et  
with an equal mind, to go-away into some lands, and

mandare istam vitam, ereptam multis justis  
to commit that life (of thine), rescued from many just

que debitis suppliciis, fugæ que solitudini? Refer,  
and due punishments, to flight and to solitude? Refer,

inquis, ad senatum (enim postulas id), et, si hic  
thou sayest, to the senate (for thou demandest that), and, if this

ordo decreverit placere sibi,  
order (the senate) shall-have-decreed to please to itself, (that it pleases

te ire in exsilium, dicis te esse  
them), thee to go into exile, thou sayest thyself to be

obtemperaturum. Referam non id, quod abhorret à  
about-to-comply. I will-refer not that, which abhors from

meis moribus: et tamen faciam  
(is inconsistent with) my manners: and yet I will-make

ut intelligas, quid hi sentiant  
that thou mayest-understand, what these (the senators) may perceive

de te. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina:  
(think) concerning thee. Go-out out-of the city, Catiline:

libera rempublicam metu: proficiscere in exsilium,  
free the republic from fear: depart into exile,

si expectas hanc vocem. Quid est, Catilina?  
if thou waitest-for this voice (word). What is-it, Catiline?

ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis silentium  
whether dost-thou-observe, whether dost-thou-perceive the silence

horum? patiuntur, tacent. Quid  
of these (senators)? they suffer (it), they are-silent. What (why



expectas auctoritatem loquentium, voluntatem  
dost-thou-wait-for the authority of (them) speaking, the will

quorum tacitorum perspicis? / At si dixissem  
of whom (being) silent thou-plainly-seest? But if I might-have-said

hoc idem huic optimo adolescenti,  
this same (thing) to this best (excellent) young-man,

P. Sextio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello; jam  
P. Sextius, if to the most-brave man, M. Marcellus; now

senatus intulisset vim et  
(immediately) the senate would-have-brought-on (inflicted) force and

manus optimo jure mihi consuli in hoc templo  
hands with the best right to me the consul in this temple

ipso; autem cum quiescunt de te, Catilina,  
itself; but when they are-quiet concerning thee, Catiline,

probant; cum patiuntur, decernunt; cum tacent,  
they approve; when they suffer (it), they decree; when they are-silent,

clamant. Neque hi solum, auctoritas quorum  
they exclaim. Neither these (senators) alone, the authority of whom

videlicet est cara tibi, vita vilissima; sed  
forsooth is dear to thee, (their) life (is) most cheap; but

etiam illi Romani equites, honestissimi atque optimi  
also those Roman knights, most-honourable and best

virī, que ceteri fortissimi cives, qui circumstant  
men, and the other most-brave citizens, who stand-around

senatum, et frequentiam quorum tu potuisti videre,  
the senate, and the assemblage of whom thou hast-been-able to see,

et perspicere studia, et paulo ante  
and to see-plainly (their) desires, and a little before (a little while

exaudire voces: manus ac tela  
ago) to hear their voices (shouts): the hands and weapons

quorum jam diu ego vix contineo abs te,  
of whom already a long-time I scarcely restrain from thee,

adducam eosdem facile, ut  
I may-lead the same easily (I could easily induce the same), that

prosequantur usque ad portas, te relinquentem  
they may-follow until to the gates, thee leaving

hæc, quæ studes jampridem vastare.  
these (thing-), which thou studiest long-since to lay-waste.

9. Quamquam quid loquor? ut ulla res  
Although what (why) do I speak? that any thing

frangat te? ut tu umquam corrigas te? ut  
may-break thee? that thou ever mayst-correct thee? that

tu meditere ullam fugam? ut tu cogites ullum  
thou mayst-meditate any flight? that thou mayst-devise any

exsilium? Utinam immortales Dii duint istam  
exile? O that the immortal Gods may-give that

mentem tibi! Tametsi video, si perterritus meâ  
mind to thee! Although I see, if being-alarmed by my

voce induxeris animum ire in exsilium,  
voice thou shalt-have-induced (thy) mind to go into exile,

quanta tempestas invidiæ impendeat nobis,  
how-great a tempest of envy (unpopularity) may impend to us

si minus in præsens tempus, recenti  
(me), if-not unto (for) the present time, by the recent

memoriâ tuorum scelerum, at in posteritatem.  
memory of thy crimes, but unto posterity (at a future

Sed est tanti mihi;  
time). But it-is of so-much (consequence) to me (it is worth the

dummodo ista sit privata calamitas, et  
sacrifice); provided-that that may-be a private calamity, and

sejungatur a periculis reipublicæ. Sed est  
may-be-separated from the dangers of the republic. But it-is

non postulandum, ut tu commoveare tuis vitiis,  
not to be-demanded, that thou mayst-be-moved from thy vices,

ut pertimescas poenas legum, ut  
that thou mayst-fear the penalties of the laws, that

concedas temporibus reipublicæ; enim  
thou mayst-concede to the times (circumstances) of the republic; for

neque es is, Catilina, ut aut pudor  
neither art-thou that (person), Catiline, that either shame

revocarit te a turpitudine, aut metus a  
may have-recalled thee from turpitude, or fear from

periculo, aut ratio a furore. Quamobrem proficiscere,  
danger, or reason from fury. Wherefore depart,

ut dixi jam sæpe: ac, si vis conflare  
as I have-said already often: and, if thou wishest to blow-together

invidiam mihi tuo inimico, ut  
(produce) envy (unpopularity) to me thy enemy, as

prædicas; perge recta in exilium: vix  
thou dearest; proceed straightway into exile: scarcely

feram sermones hominum, si feceris id:  
shall-I-bear the speeches of men, if thou-shalt-have-done that:

vix sustinebo molem istius invidiæ, si  
scarcely shall-I-support the mass of that envy, if

ieris in exilium jussu consulis:  
thou shalt-have-gone in exile by the order of the consul:

sin autem mavis servire meæ laudi et gloriæ,  
but-if thou wishest-rather to serve to my praise and glory,

egredere cum importunâ manu • sceleratorum;  
go-out with (thy) troublesome hand (band) of wicked

confer te ad Manlium: concita perditos  
(associates); betake thyself to Manlius: excite lost

cives: secerne te a bonis: infer  
(abandoned) citizens: separate thyself from the good: bring-on

bellum patriæ: exsulta impio latrocinio,  
war to (thy) country: exult in impious robbery (warfare),

ut videaris non isse ejectus a me ad alienos,  
that thou-mayst-seem not to have-gone cast-out by me to aliens,

sed invitatus ad tuos. Quamquam quid  
but being-invited to thy-own (friends). Although what

ego invitem te, a quo sciam jam  
(why) may-I-invite thee, by whom I may-know (persons) now

præmissos esse qui præstolarentur tibi  
(already) to have-been-sent-before who should-wait for thee

armati ad Aurelium forum? Sciam diem  
armed to (at) the Aurelian forum? I may know the day

pactam esse et constitutam cum Manlio? A quo  
to have-been-agreed-on and appointed with Manlius? By whom

sciam etiam illam argenteam aquilam, quam  
I may-know even that silver eagle, which

confido futuram esse perniciosam et funestam tibi,  
I trust to be-about-to-be destructive and fatal to thee,

ac omnibus tuis, cui sacrarium tuorum  
and to all thy (friends), to which a shrine of thy



scelerum fuit constitutum tuæ domi,  
crimes was appointed of thy (at thy) house,

præmissam esse? Ut tu possis carere illâ  
to have-been-sent-before? How mayst-thou-be-able to be-without that

diutius, quam solebas venerari,  
(eagle) any longer, which thou-wast-accustomed to worship,

proficiscens ad cædem? A altaribus cujus  
departing to slaughter? From the altars of which

transtulisti sæpe istam impiam dexteram ad  
thou-hast-transferred often that impious right-hand to

necem civium?  
the death (slaughter) of citizens?

10. Ibis aliquando tandem, quo ista tua  
Thou-wilt-go at length, whither that thy

effrenata ac furiosa cupiditas jampridem rapiebat  
unbridled and furious desire long-since did-seize

te. Enim neque hæc res affert dolorem  
(hurry) thee. For neither this thing brings pain

tibi, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem:  
to thee, but some (a certain) incredible pleasure

natura peperit te ad hanc amentiam, voluntas  
nature has-produced thee to this madness, (thy) will

exercuit, fortuna servavit: tu  
has exercised (thee in it), fortune has-preserved (thee for it): thou

nunquam concupisti non modo otium, sed ne quidem  
never hast-coveted not only ease, but not-even

bellum, nisi nefarium: nactus es manum  
war, unless a nefarious (war): thou hast-obtained a band

improborum conflata ex perditis,  
of dishonest (men) blown-together (formed) out of lost

atque derelictis non modo ab omni  
(abandoned men), and forsaken not only by every

fortunâ, verum etiam spe. Quâ lætitiâ  
fortune, but even hope. With what gladness

tu perfruere hic? quibus gaudiis exsultabis? in  
wilt-thou-enjoy here? in what joys wilt-thou-exult? in

quantâ voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero  
how-great pleasure wilt-thou-revel, when in so-great a number

tuorum                      neque                      audies                      neque                      videbis  
 of thy (associates)      neither                      wilt-thou-hear                      nor                      wilt-see  
 quemquam bonum virum? Illi tui labores, qui  
 any                      good                      man?                      Those                      thy labours, which  
 feruntur,                      meditati sunt  
 are-borne (are commonly reported),                      have-been-meditated (practised)  
 ad studium                      hujus                      vitæ:                      jacere  
 to (for) the study (purpose)                      of this (kind of)                      life:                      to lie  
 humi,                      non modo ad stuprum obsidendum,  
 on-the-ground, not                      only                      to (for) adultery                      to-be-lain-in-wait-for,  
 verum etiam ad facinus obeundum; vigilare,  
 but                      even                      to (for) a daring-deed to be-gone-through;                      to watch,  
 non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum  
 not                      only                      lying-in-wait                      for the sleep                      of husbands,                      but  
 etiam bonis occisorum. Habes ubi ostentes  
 even                      for the goods of (them) slain. Thou hast where thou mayst-display  
 illam tuam præclaram patientiam famis, frigoris,  
 that                      thy                      famous                      patience                      of hunger,                      of cold,  
 inopiæ omnium rerum; quibus senties te  
 of want                      of all                      things;                      with which thou wilt-perceive thyself  
 esse confectum brevi tempore. Profeci tantum tum,  
 to be                      wasted                      in a short                      time. I profited so-much then,  
 cum repuli te a consulatu, ut posses  
 when I repelled thee from the consulship,                      that thou mightest-be-able  
 potius tentare rempublicam exul, quam  
 rather                      to try (attack)                      the republic                      (as) an exile,                      than  
 vexare consul: atque ut id, quod  
 to harass (it)                      (as) a consul:                      and                      that                      that,                      which  
 susceptum esset scelerate a te nominaretur  
 might have-been-undertaken wickedly by thee                      should-be-named  
 latrocinium potius quam bellum.  
 a robbery                      rather                      than                      a war.

11. Nunc, conscripti patres, ut detester ac  
 Now, conscript fathers, that I may detest (avoid) and

deprecari a me, quandam prope  
 may-deprecate from myself,                      some (a certain)                      nearly (almost)  
 justam quærimoniam patriæ: percipite diligenter,  
 just                      complaint                      of (my) country: attend-to                      diligently

quæso, quæ dicam, et mandate ea  
I pray, (the things) which I may-say, and commit thou  
penitus vestris animis quæ mentibus. Etenim, si  
inwardly to your minds and understandings. For, if

patria, quæ est multo carior mihi meâ vitâ, si  
(my) country, which is by-much dearer to me than my life, if

cuncta Italia, si omnis respublica loquatur cum me:  
the whole Italy, if all the republic may-speak with me:

M. Tulli, quid agis? ne tu patieris eum  
M. Tullius, what actest-thou? whether wilt-thou-suffer him

exire, quem comperisti esse hostem: quem  
to go-out whom thou hast-discovered to be an enemy: whom

vides futurum ducem belli: quem sentis  
thou seest about-to-be a leader of the war: whom thou perceivest

expectari imperatorem in castris hostium,  
to be-waited-for (as) commander in the camps of the enemies,

auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis,  
the author of the wickedness, the chief of the conspiracy

evocatorem servorum et perditorum civium,  
the summoner (to war) of slaves and of lost (abandoned) citizens,

ut videatur non esse emissus ex urbe abs te,  
that he may-seem not to be sent-out out-of the city by thee,

sed immissus in urbem? Nonne imperabis hunc  
but sent-in into the city? Wilt-thou-not-command this

duci in vincula, non rapi ad  
(Catiline) to-be-led into bonds, not to be-seized (hurried) to

mortem, non mactari summo supplicio? Quid  
death, not to be-slain with the highest punishment? What

tandem impedit te? ne mos majorum?  
at-length hinders you? whether the custom of (our) ancestors?

At persæpe etiam privati multarunt  
But very-often even private (persons) have fined (punished)

perniciosos cives morte in hac republicâ. An  
destructive citizens with death in this republic. Whether

leges quæ rogatæ sunt de supplicio  
the laws which have-been-begged (passed) concerning the punishment

Romanorum civium? At nunquam in  
of Roman citizens (do these prevent thee)? But never in



hâc urbe ii tenuerunt jura civium, qu.  
 this city those have-held (retained) the rights of citizens, who  
 defecerunt a republicâ. An times invidiam  
 have-revolted from the republic. Whether fearest-thou the envy  
 posteritatis? Vero refers præclaram  
 (displeasure) of posterity? But thou returnest a famous  
 gratiam Romano populo, qui extulit te,  
 acknowledgment to the Roman people, which has-raised thee,  
 hominem cognitum per te, nullâ  
 a man known through thyself (alone), with no  
 commendatione majorum, per omnes gradus  
 recommendation of ancestors, through all steps  
 honorum tam mature ad summum imperium,  
 (degrees) of honours so early to the highest command,  
 si propter invidiam, aut metum alicujus periculi,  
 if because-of envy, or fear of some danger,  
 negligis salutem tuorum civium. Sed si est  
 thou neglectest the safety of thy citizens. But if there-is  
 quis metus invidiæ, num est invidia severitatis  
 any fear of envy (displeasure), whether is the envy of severity  
 ac fortitudinis pertimescenda vehementius, quam  
 and of fortitude to be-feared more-violently, than (that)  
 inertix ac nequitix? An, cum Italia  
 of inactivity and of negligence? Whether, when Italy  
 vastabitur bello, urbes vexabuntur, tecta  
 shall-be-devastated with war, cities shall-be-harassed, roofs  
 ardebunt: existimas te non  
 (houses) shall-be-on-fire: dost-thou-think thyself not (to be)  
 conflagraturum tum incendio invidiæ?  
 about-to-burn then with a conflagration of envy (unpopularity)?  
 12. Ego respondebo pauca his sanctissimis  
 I will-answer a few (words) to these most-sacred  
 vocibus reipublicæ, et mentibus hominum, qui  
 voices (words) of the republic, and to the minds of men, who  
 sentiunt idem. Si ego judicarem  
 feel the same (have similar sentiments). If I might-judge  
 hoc optimum factu, conscripti patres, Catilinam  
 this best to be-done, conscript fathers, Catiline

multari morte; dedissem non  
 to be-fined (punished) with death; I would-have-given not  
 usuram unius horæ ad vivendum isti  
 the use of one hour to to be-lived (for living) to that  
 gladiator. Etenim, si summi viri, et clarissimi  
 gladiator. For, if the highest men, and the most-famous  
 cives non modo contaminarunt non, sed etiam  
 citizens not only have contaminated not, but even  
 honestarunt se, sanguine Saturnini, et  
 have-ennobled themselves, by the blood of Saturninus. and  
 Gracchorum, et Flacci, et complurium superiorum;  
 of the Gracchi, and of Flaccus, and of many superiors;  
 certe erat non verendum mihi, ne quid  
 certainly it was not to-be-feared to (by) me, lest any (thing)  
 invidiæ redundaret mihi in posteritatem, hoc  
 of unpopularity might-redound to me unto posterity, this  
 parricidâ civium interfecto. Quod si ea impenderet  
 parricide of citizens being-slain. But if it might-impend  
 mihi maxime, tamen fui semper  
 (threaten) to me mostly (very much), yet I have-been always  
 hoc animo, ut putarem invidiam partam virtute,  
 with this mind, that I might-think envy produced by virtue,  
 gloriam, non invidiam. Quamquam sunt nonnulli in  
 glory, not envy. Although there-are some in  
 hoc ordine, qui aut videant non ea  
 this order (assembly), who either may-see not those (things)  
 quæ imminet, aut dissimulent ea, quæ  
 which impend, or may-dissemble those (things), which  
 vident: qui aluerunt spem Catilinæ mollibus  
 they-see: who have-nourished the hope of Catiline by soft (mild)  
 sententiis, que corroboraverunt nascentem  
 opinions, and have-strengthened the growing  
 conjurationem credendo non. Auctoritatem  
 conspiracy by believing (it) not. The authority  
 quorum multi secuti, non solum improbi,  
 of whom many having-followed, not only the dishonest,  
 verum etiam imperiti, si animadvertissem in  
 but also the unskilful, if I might-have-animadverted upon

hunc, dicerent factum esse crudeliter  
him (if I had punished him), would-say (it) to have-been-done cruelly

et regie. Nunc intelligo, si iste  
and royally (tyrannically). Now I understand, if that (Catiline)

pervenerit quo intendit, in Manliana  
shall-have-arrived whither he stretches (purposes), into the Manlian

castra, neminem fore tam stultum, qui videat  
camps, no-one to be-about-to-be so foolish, who may-see

non conjurationem factam esse; neminem tam  
not a conspiracy to have-been-made; no-one so

improbum, qui fateatur non. Autem hoc uno  
dishonest, who may-confess (it) not. But this one

interfecto, intelligo, hanc pestem  
(Catiline alone) being-slain, I understand, this pest

reipublicæ reprimi paullisper, non posse  
of the republic to be-repressed for-a-little-while, not to be-able

comprimi in perpetuum. Quod si  
to be-compressed unto perpetual (for ever). But-if

ejecerit se, que eduxerit suos  
he shall-have-cast-out himself, and shall-have-led-out his-own

cum se, et aggregaverit ceteros  
(associates) with himself, and shall-have-gathered-together the other

naufragos collectos undique eodem;  
shipwrecked (ruined persons) collected from-all-sides to-the-same-place;

non modo hæc tam adulta pestis reipublicæ, verum  
not only this so adult pest of the republic, but

etiam stirps ac semen omnium malorum  
also the roots and seed of all evils

extinguetur, atque delebitur.  
will-be-extinguished, and will-be-blotted-out (destroyed).

13. Etenim jam diu, conscripti patres,  
For already a long-time, conscript fathers,

versamur in his periculis conjurationis que insidiis:  
we-are-engaged in these dangers of conspiracy and in snares.

sed nescio quo pacto, maturitas  
but I know-not by what agreement (by what means), the maturity

omnium scelerum, ac veteris furoris et audaciæ  
of all crimes, and of old fury and audacity



**erupit** in tempus nostri **consulatûs**. Quod si  
has-broken-out into the time of our (of my) consulship. But-if

**ex** tanto latrocinio **iste** unus  
out-of so-great robbery (conspiracy) that one (Catiline alone)

**tolletur**; **videbimur** fortasse **esse** relevati  
shall-be-taken-away; we-shall-seem perhaps to be relieved

**curâ** et metu ad **quoddam** breve tempus: autem  
from care and fear to (for) some short time: but

**periculum** residebit, et erit **inclusum** penitus in  
the danger will-settle, and will-be inclosed inwardly in

**venis** atque in visceribus reipublicæ. Ut sæpe homines  
the veins and in the viscera of the republic. As often men

**ægri** gravi morbo, cum **jactantur** æstu que  
sick with a heavy disease, when they are-tossed with heat and

**febri**, si biberint **gelidam** aquam, videntur  
with fever, if they may-have-drunk cold water, seem

**primo** relevari, deinde affligantur multo **gravius**  
at-first to be-relieved, afterwards are-afflicted by much more-heavily

que vehementius; sic hic morbus, qui est in republicâ,  
and more-violently; so this disease, which is in the republic,

**relevatus** **poenâ** istius **ingravescet**  
being-relieved by the punishment of that (Catiline) will grow-grievous

**reliquis** civibus. Quare, **conscripti** patres,  
to the remaining citizens. Wherefore, conscript fathers,

**improbi** secedant, **secernant** se  
the dishonest may retire (let them retire), let-them-separate themselves

a bonis, congregentur in unum locum; denique,  
from the good, let-them-be-assembled into one place; finally,

id quod jam dixi sæpe, **secernantur** a  
that which already I have-said often, let-them-be-separated from

**nobis** muro, **desinant** **insidiari**  
us by the wall (of the city), let-them-cease to lie-in-wait

**consuli** suæ domi, **circumstare**  
for the consul of his-own house (at his own house), to stand-around

**tribunal** urbani prætoris, **obsidere** **curiam**  
the tribunal of the civic prætor, to beset the council-house

cum gladiis, **comparare** malleolos et faces ad  
with swords, to prepare combustibles and torches to (for)

urbem inflammandam. Denique, sit inscriptum  
the city to be-set-on-fire. Finally, let-it-be inscribed

in fronte uniuscujusque civis, quid sentiat  
in (on) the forehead of each citizen, what he may-feel

de republicâ. Polliceor hoc  
(what are his sentiments) concerning the republic. I promise this

vobis, conscripti patres, tantam diligentiam fore  
to you, conscript fathers, so-great diligence to be-about-to-be

in nobis consulibus, tantam auctoritatem in  
will be) in us consuls, so-great authority in

vobis, tantam virtutem in Romanis equitibus,  
you, so-great virtue (valour) in the Roman knights,

tantam consensionem in omnibus bonis, ut  
so-great agreement in all the-good, that

profectione Catilinæ videatis omnia esse  
by the departure of Catiline you-may-see all (things) to be

patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata. / Hisce  
exposed, brought-to-light, oppressed, punished. With these

ominibus, Catilina, cum summâ salute reipublicæ,  
omens, Catiline, with the highest safety of the republic,

et cum tuâ peste ac pernicië, que cum exitio  
and with thy-own pest and destruction, and with the destruction

eorum qui junxerunt se cum te omni scelere  
of those who have-joined themselves with thee in every crime

que parricidio, proficiscere ad impium ac nefarium  
and parricide, depart to an impious and nefarious

bellum. Tum tu, Jupiter, qui constitutus es a  
war. Then thou, Jupiter, who has-been-established by

Romulo iisdem auspiciis quibus hæc urbs;  
Romulus with the same auspices with which this city (was

quem nominamus vere Statorem hujus  
established); whom we name truly the Stator of this

urbis atque imperii, arcebis hunc et socios  
city and empire, wilt-ward-off this (Catiline) and the companions

hujus a tuis aris que ceteris templis, a tectis  
of this from thy altars and from the other temples, from the roofs

ac mœnibus urbis, a vitâ que fortunis  
(houses) and the walls of the city, from the life and the fortunes

omnium civium; et mactabis omnes  
 of all the citizens; and thou wilt-sacrifice (destroy) all  
 inimicos bonorum, hostes patriæ, latrones Italiæ,  
 enemies of the good, enemies of the country, the robbers of Italy,  
 conjunctos inter se foedere scelerum ac  
 united among themselves by a covenant of crimes and  
 nefariâ societate, vivos que mortuos, æternis  
 by nefarious society, alive and dead, with eternal  
 suppliciiis.  
 punishments.



SECUNDA ORATIO  
*THE SECOND ORATION*  
 AD QUIRITES.  
*TO THE ROMANS.*

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1. TANDEM ALIQUANDO, Quirites, vel ejecimus  
 At-length, Romans, either we have-cast-out  
 ex urbe, L. Catilinam, furem audaciâ, anhelantem  
 out-of the city, L. Catiline, raging with audacity, panting-after  
 scelus, molientem nefarie pestem patriæ,  
 crime, attempting nefariously the pest (destruction) of the country,  
 minitantem ferrum que flammam vobis atque huic urbi,  
 threatening sword and flame to you and to this city,  
 vel emisimus vel prosecuti sumus verbis  
 or we have-sent (him) out, or we-have-followed with words  
 ipsum egredientem. Abiit, excessit, evasit,  
 himself going-out. He has-departed, he has-gone-out, he has-escaped,  
 erupit. Jam nulla perniciës comparabitur intra  
 he has-burst-out. Now no destruction will be-prepared within  
 mœnia mœnibus ipsis a illo monstro atque  
 the walls for the walls themselves by that monster and  
 prodigio. Atque sine controversiâ vicinus  
 prodigy (of wickedness). And without controversy we have-conquered  
 quidem hunc unum ducem domestici belli. Enim jam  
 indeed this one leader of domestic war. For now  
 illa sica versabitur non inter nostra latera :  
 that poniard will be-engaged not among our sides  
 pertimescemus non in campo,  
 (will not be aimed at our sides): we shall-fear (it) not in the plain  
 non in foro, non in curiâ,  
 (the Campus Martius), not in the forum, not in the council-house,

denique, non intra domesticos parietes. Ille motus est  
 finally, not within (our) domestic walls. He was-moved  
 loco, cum depulsus est ex urbe. Jam  
 from (his) place, when he was-driven out-of the city. Now  
 geremus palam justum bellum cum hoste, nullo  
 we shall-carry on openly a just war with an enemy, no-one  
 impediēte. Sine dubio perdidimus, que magnifice  
 hindering. Without doubt we destroyed, and magnificently  
 vicimus hominem, cum coniecimus illum ex occultis  
 conquered the man, when we cast him out-of hidden  
 insidiis in apertum latrocinium. Vero quanto  
 snares into open robbery (war). But with how-great  
 mœrore tandem putatis illum esse afflictum et  
 sorrow at-length do you-think him to be afflicted and  
 profligatum, quod extulit non mucronem  
 cast-down, because he has-carried-out not the sword-blade  
 cruentum, ut voluit, quod egressus est, nobis vivis,  
 bloody, as he wished, because he went-out, ourselves alive  
 quod extorsimus ferrum ei de  
 (I being alive), because we have-wrested the sword from him from  
 manibus, quod reliquit cives incolumes, quod  
 the hands, because he has-left the citizens safe, because  
 urbem stantem? Ille nunc jacet prostratus,  
 (he has left) the city standing? He now lies overthrown,  
 Quirites, et sentit se esse perculsum atque abjectum,  
 Romans, and perceives himself to be struck and cast-down,  
 et profecto retorquet sæpe oculos ad hanc urbem;  
 and indeed turns-back often (his) eyes to this city  
 quam luget ereptam esse ex suis faucibus:  
 which he mourns to have-been-snatched out-of his jaws:  
 quæ videtur mihi quidem lætari, quod  
 which (city) seems to me indeed to rejoice, because  
 evomuerit tantam pestem, que projecit  
 it may have-vomited-out so-great a pest and may-have-cast (it)  
 foras.  
 without.

2. At si quis est talis, quales oportebat omnes  
 But if any (person) is such like-as it did-behave al

esse, qui accuset me vehementer in hoc ipso,  
 to be, who may accuse me violently in this (thing) itself  
 in quo mea oratio exultat et triumphat, quod  
 in which my speech exults and triumphs, because  
 comprehenderim non tam capitale hostem, potius  
 I may have-seized not so capital an enemy, rather  
 quam emiserim: ista est non mea culpa,  
 than I may have-sent (him)-out: that is not my fault,  
 Quirites, sed temporum. Oportebat jampridem  
 Romans, but (the fault) of the times. It-did-behave long-since  
 L. Catilinam interemtum esse, et affectum gravissimo  
 L. Catiline to have-been-slain, and affected with the heaviest  
 supplicio; que et mos majorum, et severitas  
 punishment; and both the custom of (our) ancestors, and the severity  
 hujus imperii, et respublica postulabat  
 of this command (of the consular power), and the republic did demand  
 id a me. Sed quam multos putatis fuisse, qui  
 that from me. But how many do you-think to have-been who  
 crederent non quæ ego deferrem? quam  
 would believe not (the things) which I might-allege? how  
 multos, qui putarent non propter  
 many, who would-think (them) not (to exist) because-of  
 stultitiam? quam multos, qui etiam defenderent?  
 folly? how many, who even would-defend (them)?  
 quam multos, qui faverent propter improbitatem?  
 how many, who would-favour (them) because-of dishonesty?  
 Ac si, illo sublato, judicarem omne  
 And if, he (Catiline) being-removed, I might-judge every  
 periculum depelli a vobis; jampridem ego  
 danger to be-repelled from you; long-since I  
 sustulissem L. Catilinam, non modo periculo  
 would-have-removed L. Catiline, not only with danger  
 meæ invidiæ, verum etiam vitæ.  
 (at the peril) of my envy (unpopularity), but even of life.  
 Sed cum viderem, re etiam tum probatâ  
 But when I might-see, the thing even then being-approved  
 ne quidem vobis omnibus si multassem  
 not-even to (by) you all (the senators), if I might-have-punished



illum morte, ut meritus erat, forc  
 him with death, as he had-deserved, to be-about-to-be (it might be)  
 ut oppressus invidiâ, possem non persequi  
 that being-oppressed with unpopularity, I should-be-able not to pursue  
 socios ejus: deduxi rem huc,  
 the companions of him: I have-brought-down the thing hither (to this),  
 ut possetis pugnare palam tum, cum videretis  
 that you might-be-able to fight openly then, when you might-see  
 hostem aperte. Quem hostem, quidem, Quirites,  
 the enemy openly. Which enemy, indeed, Romans,  
 quam vehementer ego putem esse timendum foris,  
 how violently I may think to be to be-feared without

licet intelligatis  
 being out of the city), it may-be-allowed (that) you may-understand  
 hinc, quod fero etiam illud moleste,  
 hence (you may learn from this), that I bear even this grievously,  
 quod exierit ex urbe parum comitatus.  
 that he may-have-gone-out out-of the city little accompanied.  
 Utinam ille eduxisset omnes suas copias cum  
 O that he might-have-led-out all his forces with  
 se! Eduxit mihi Tongillum, quem cœperat  
 himself! He has-led-out for me Tongillus, whom he had-begun

amare calumniâ in prætextâ:  
 to love with calumny (feigned love) in the prætexta (in youth): (he has

Publicium et Munacium, alienum æs quorum  
 led out) Publicius and Munacius, the debt of whom  
 contractum in popinâ poterat afferre nullum motum  
 contracted in the tavern was-able to bring no movement

reipublicæ: quos viros reliquit? quanto  
 (commotion) to the republic: what men has-he-left? with how-great  
 ære alieno, quam valentes, quam nobiles?  
 debt, how powerful, how noble?

3. Itaque ego contemno magnopere illum exercitum,  
 Therefore I despise greatly that army  
 et Gallicanis legionibus, et hoc delectu,  
 (of Catiline), both with the Gallic legions, and with this choice  
 quem Q. Metellus habuit in Piceno et Gallico  
 (levy), which Q. Metellus has had in the Picenian and Gallic

agro, et his copiis, quæ comparantur a  
 field (territory), and with these forces, which are-prepared by  
 nobis quotidie; collectum ex desperatis  
 us daily (I despise that army); collected out-of hopeless  
 senibus, ex agresti luxuriâ, ex rusticis decoctoribus,  
 old-men, out-of rural luxury, out-of rustic spendthrifts,  
 ex iis qui maluerunt deserere vadimonia  
 out-of those who have-wished-rather to desert (their) recognisances  
 quam illum exercitum: quibus si ego ostendero non  
 than that army: to whom if I shall-have-shown not  
 modo aciem nostri exercitus, verum etiam si  
 only the array of our army, but even if (I shall have  
 edictum prætoris, concident. Mallem  
 shown) the edict of the prætor, they will-fall (faint). I would-rather  
 eduxisset cum se suos milites hos, quos  
 he might-have-led-out with himself (as) his soldiers these, whom  
 video volitare in foro, quos stare ad  
 I see to flutter-about in the forum, whom (I see) to stand to (at)  
 curiam, quos venire etiam in senatum: qui  
 the council-house, whom (I see) to come even into the senate: who  
 nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpurâ: qui si  
 shine with perfumes, who glitter in purple: who if  
 permanent hic, mementote illum exercitum non tam  
 they remain here, remember that army not so  
 quam hos, qui deseruerunt exercitum esse  
 (much) as these, who have-deserted the army to be  
 pertimescendos nobis. Atque sunt etiam timendi  
 to be-feared to (by) us. And they-are even to be-feared  
 hoc magis, quod sentiunt me scire quid  
 by this more, because they perceive me to know what  
 cogitent, neque tamen permoventur. Video cui  
 they may-devise, nor yet are-moved. I see to whom  
 Apulia attributa sit, qui habeat Etruriam, qui  
 Apulia may have-been-assigned, who may-have Etruria, who  
 Picenum agrum, qui Gallicum, qui depoposcerit  
 the Picenian field (territory), who the Gallic, who may have-demanded  
 sibi has urbanas insidias cædis atque incendiorum.  
 to himself these civic snares of slaughter and of conflagrations.

Sentiunt omnia consilia superioris noctis  
 They perceive all the counsels of the former night  
 delata esse ad me: patefeci in  
 to have-been-brought (reported) to me: I exposed (them) in  
 senatu hesterno die: Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit:  
 the senate yesterday: Catiline himself feared, fled.  
 quid hi expectant? Næ illi errant vehementer,  
 what (why) these wait? Truly they err violently  
 si sperant illam meam pristinam  
 (very much), if they hope (expect) that my former  
 lenitatem futuram perpetuam.  
 mildness about-to-be perpetual.

4. Jam assecutus sum quod expectavi, ut vos  
 Already I have-attained what I waited-for, that you  
 omnes videretis conjurationem factam esse aperte  
 all might-see a conspiracy to have-been-made openly  
 contra rempublicam. Nisi, vero, si est quis  
 against the republic. Unless, indeed, if there-is any (person)  
 qui putet similes Catilinæ non sentire  
 who may-think the like of Catiline (think like Catiline) not to feel  
 cum Catilinâ. Jam est non locus lenitati; res  
 with Catiline. Now there-is not place for mildness; the thing  
 ipsa flagitat severitatem. Etiam nunc concedam  
 itself demands severity. Even now I will-concede  
 unum: exeant; proficiscantur; patiantur ne  
 one (thing): let-them-go-out; let-them-depart; let-them-suffer not  
 miserum Catilinam tabescere desiderio sui;  
 the wretched Catiline to pine-away with the want of them;  
 demonstrabo iter. Profectus est Aureliâ viâ:  
 I will-point-out the journey. He departed by the Aurelian way:  
 si volent accelerare, consequentur ad vesperam.  
 if they-shall-wish to hasten, they will-overtake (him) to (at) evening.  
 O fortunatam rempublicam, si quidem, ejecerit  
 O fortunate republic, if indeed, she may-have-cast-out  
 hanc sentinam hujus urbis! Mehercule, Catilinâ unc  
 this sink of this city! By-Hercules, Catiline one  
 exhausto, respublica videtur mihi relevata  
 (alone) being-drawn-off, the republic seems to me relieved



et recreata. Enim quid mali aut sceleris potest  
 and refreshed. For what of evil or of crime is-able  
 fingi aut excogitari, quod ille conceperit  
 to be-fashioned or to be-devised, which he may have-conceived  
 non? Quis veneficus totâ Italiâ, quis gladiator,  
 not? What poisoner in whole (all) Italy, what gladiator  
 quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis subjector  
 what robber, what assassin, what parricide, what substitutor  
 testamentorum, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo,  
 of wills, what over-reacher, what debauchee,  
 quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ infamis mulier,  
 what spendthrift, what adulterer, what infamous woman,  
 quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus quis  
 what corruptor of youth, what corrupted (person), what  
 perditus potest inveniri, qui fateatur  
 lost (abandoned person) is-able to be-found, who may-confess  
 non se vixisse familiarissime cum Catilinâ?  
 not himself to have-lived most-familiarly with Catiline?  
 Quæ cædes facta est per hosce annos  
 What slaughter (murder) has-been-done through these-here years  
 sine illo? Quod nefarium stuprum  
 (of late years) without him? What nefarious debauchery  
 non per illum? Vero jam, quæ tanta illecebra  
 not through him? But now, what so-great allurements  
 juventutis fuit umquam in ullo homine, quanta in  
 of youth has been ever in any man, as-great-as in  
 illo? qui ipse amabat alios turpissime, serviebat  
 him? who himself did-love others most-basely, did serve  
 flagitiosissime amoris aliorum:  
 (was subservient) most-villanously to the love of others:  
 pollicebatur aliis fructum libidinum,  
 he did promise to others (to some) the fruit (enjoyment) of desires,  
 aliis mortem parentum, non modo impellendo, verum  
 to others the death of parents, not only by impelling, but  
 etiam adjuvando. Vero nunc quam subito collegerat  
 even by assisting. But now how-suddenly he had-collected  
 ingentem numerum perditorum hominum, non  
 a large number of lost (abandoned) men, not

solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris? Nemo,  
 only out-of the city, but even out of the fields? No-one,  
 non modo Romæ, sed nec in ullo angulo  
 not only of Rome (at Rome), but neither in any corner  
 totius Italiæ, fuit oppressus alieno ære, quem  
 of the whole Italy, was oppressed with-debt, whom  
 adsciverit non ad hoc incredibile fœdus  
 he may-have-attached not to this incredible covenant  
 sceleris.  
 of crime.

5. Atque ut possitis perspicere diversa studia  
 And that you-may-be-able to see-plainly the different studies  
 ejus in dissimili ratione, est nemo in  
 of him in a dissimilar reason (manner), there-is no-one in  
 gladiatorio ludo paullo audacior ad facinus, qui  
 the gladiatory play (school) a little more-bold to daring-deed, who  
 fateatur non se esse intimum Catilinæ:  
 may-confess not himself to be the intimate (friend) of Catiline.  
 nemo levior et nequior in  
 no-one lighter (more unsteady) and more profligate in (on)  
 scenâ, qui commemoret non se fuisse prope  
 the stage, who may-mention not himself to have-been nearly  
 sodalem ejusdem. Atque tamen idem,  
 the companion of the same. And yet the same (Catiline),  
 assuefactus exercitatione stuprorum et scelerum,  
 accustomed by the exercise of debaucheries and of crimes,  
 frigore, et fame, et siti, ac vigiliis perferendis,  
 in cold, and in hunger, and in thirst, and in watchings to be-borne,  
 prædicabatur fortis ab istis; cum subsidia  
 was-declared brave by those (persons); when the aids  
 industriæ atque instrumenta virtutis consumerentur  
 of industry and the instruments of virtue might-be-consumed  
 in libidine que audaciâ. Vero si sui comites  
 in desire and audacity. But if his companions  
 secuti fuerint hunc; si flagitiosi greges  
 may-have-followed this (Catiline); if the villanous flocks  
 desperatorum hominum exierint ex urbe; O  
 of hopeless men may-have-gone-out out-of the city; O

beatos nos, O fortunatam rempublicam, O præclaram  
 happy us, O fortunate republic, O famous  
 laudem mei consulatûs! Enim jam libidines hominum  
 praise of my consulship! For now the desires of the men  
 sunt non mediocres, audaciæ non humanæ ac  
 are not moderate, (their) audacities not human and  
 tolerandæ: cogitant nihil, nisi cædes, nisi  
 to be-supported: they devise nothing, unless slaughters, unless  
 incendia, nisi rapinas; profuderunt  
 conflagrations, unless rapines; they have-poured-forth (squandered)  
 sua patrimonia; abligurierunt suas fortunas;  
 their-own patrimonies; they have-spent-in-feasting their fortunes;  
 res eos jampridem; fides nuper  
 thing (property has failed) them long-since; faith (credit) lately  
 cœpit deficere; tamen illa eadem libido, quæ  
 has-begun to fail (them); yet that same desire, which  
 erat in abundantia, permanet. Quod si in vino  
 was in (their) abundance, remains. But-if in wine  
 et alea quærerent solum comissiones et scorta,  
 and dice they-might-seek only revellings and prostitutes,  
 illi essent desperandi quidem; sed tamen  
 they would-be to be-despaired-of indeed; but yet  
 essent ferendi. Vero quis possit ferre hoc,  
 they would-be to be-borne. But who may-be-able to bear this, (for)  
 inertes homines insidiari fortissimis viris,  
 inactive men to lie-in-wait for the bravest men,  
 stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis,  
 the most-foolish for the most-prudent, the drunken for the sober  
 dormientes vigilantibus? Qui mihi, accubantes  
 the sleeping for the watching? Who (for me), reclining  
 in conviviis, complexi impudicas mulieres, languidi  
 in banquets, having-embraced unchaste women, languid  
 vino, conferti cibo, redimiti sertis, obliti  
 with wine, filled with food, crowned with garlands, besmeared  
 unguentis, debilitati stupris, eructant suis  
 with perfumes, weakened with debaucheries, belch-out in their  
 sermonibus cædem bonorum, atque incendia  
 discourses the slaughter of the good, and the conflagrations



urbis. Quibus, ego confido, aliquod fatum impendere :  
of the city. To whom, I trust, some fate to impend :

et pœnas jam diu debitas improbitati,  
and the penalties already a long-time due to dishonesty,

nequitiae, sceleri, libidini, aut jam plane  
to licentiousness, to crime, to desire, either already plainly

instare, aut certe jam appropinquare. Quos si  
to be-at-hand, or certainly already to approach. Whom if

meus consulatus, quoniam potest non sanare,  
my consulship, since it is-able not to cure,

sustulerit ; propagarit  
may have-removed ; it will have propagated (it will have added a duration)

non nescio quod breve tempus, sed multa sæcula  
not I know-not what short time, but many ages

reipublicæ. Enim est nulla natio quam  
to the republic. For there-is no nation which

pertimescamus ; nullus rex qui possit facere bellum  
we may-fear ; no king who may be-able to make war

Romano populo. Omnia externa, terrâ que  
to the Roman people. All external (things), by land and

mari pacata sunt virtute unius :  
by sea have-been-appeased by the valour of one (Pompey alone) :

domesticum bellum manet ; insidiæ sunt intus ;  
a domestic war remains ; the snares are within ;

periculum est inclusum intus ; hostis est intus ;  
the danger is inclosed within ; the enemy is within ;

est certandum nobis cum luxuriâ, cum amentîâ,  
it-is to be-contended to (by) us with luxury, with madness,

cum scelere. Quirites, ego profiteor me ducem  
with crime. Romans, I profess (declare) myself the leader

huic bello ; suscipio inimicitias  
to this war ; I take-up (I take upon myself) the enmities

perditorum hominum. Quæ poterunt  
of the lost (abandoned) men. What (things) shall-be-able

sanari, sanabo quâcunque ratione ; quæ  
to be-cured, I will-cure by whatsoever reason (means) ; what

erunt resecanda, patiar non manere ad  
(things) shall-be to be-cut-off, I will-suffer not to remain to

perniciem civitatis. Proinde, aut exeant, aut  
 the destruction of the state. Therefore, either let-them-go-out, or  
 quiescant; aut, si et permanent in urbe, et  
 let-them-remain-quiet; or, if both, they remain in the city, and  
 in eodem mente, expectent ea quae  
 in the same mind, let-them-expect those (things) which  
 merentur.  
 they deserve.

6. At etiam sunt, Quirites, qui dicant  
 But even there-are (persons), Romans, who may-say  
 Catilinam eiectionem esse a me in exilium. Quod  
 Catiline to have-been-shut-out by me into exile. Which  
 si ego possem assequi verbo, ejicerem istos  
 if I might be-able to attain by word, I would-shut-out those  
 ipsos, qui loquuntur hæc. Videlicet  
 (persons) themselves, who speak these (things). That-is-to-say  
 timidus, et permolestus homo potuit non  
 (timid) the timid, and very-molest man was-able not  
 ferre vocem consulis: simul atque jussus est ire  
 to bear the voice of the consul; as-soon-as he was-ordered to go  
 in exilium, paruit ivit. Hesterno die, cum  
 into exile, he obeyed, he went. On-yesterday, when  
 interfectus essem pæne meæ domi,  
 I might-have-been-shut almost of my house (at my own house),  
 vocavi senatum in ædem Jovis Statoris:  
 I called the senate into the temple of Jupiter Stator:  
 detuli omnem rem ad conscriptos patres.  
 I referred all the thing (affair) to the conscript fathers.  
 Quo, cum Catilina venisset, quis senator appellavit  
 Whether, when Catiline might-have come, what senator addressed  
 eum? quis salutavit? denique, quis ita aspexit  
 him? who saluted (him)? finally, who so looked-on (him)  
 ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut  
 as a lost (abandoned) citizen, and not rather as  
 importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus  
 a most-troublesome enemy? But even the chiefs of that  
 ordinis, reliquerunt illam partem subselliorum  
 order (the senatorial), left that part of the seats

ad quam ille accesserat nudam atque inanem. Hic  
to which he had approached naked and empty. Here

ego, ille vehemens consul, qui ejicio cives in  
I, that violent consul, who cast-out citizens into

exsilium verbo, quæsi a Catilinâ, an fuisset  
exile by a word, asked from Catiline, whether he might-have-been

nocturno conventu apud M. Leccam, necne.  
in the nocturnal assembly with (at the house of) M. Lecca, or-not.

Cum ille audacissimus homo, convictus conscientiâ,  
When that most-audacious man, convicted by consciousness,

primo reticuisset: patefeci cetera.  
at-first might-have-kept-silent: I exposed the other (things).

Edocui quid egisset eâ nocte [ubi  
I informed what he might-have-acted on that night [where

fuisse], quid constituisset in proximam,  
he might-have-been], what he might-have-appointed upon the next

quemadmodum ratio totius belli  
(night), in what-manner the reason (plan) of the whole war

descripta esset ei. Cum hæsitaret,  
might-have-been-described to (by) him. When he might-hesitate,

cum teneretur; quæsi, quid  
when he might-be-held (when he was convicted); I asked, what (why)

dubitaret proficisci eò, quo pararat  
he might-doubt (hesitate) to depart thither, whither he had-prepared

jampridem: cum scirem arma, cum secures,  
(to go) long-since: when I might-know arms, when axes,

cum fasces, cum tubas, cum militaria signa,  
when fasces, when trumpets, when military signs (ensigns),

cum illam argenteam aquilam, cui ille etiam  
when that silver eagle, to which he even

fecerat sacrarium scelerum suæ domi,  
had-made a shrine of crimes of his-own house (at his own house),

præmissam esse. Ejiciebam in exsilium,  
to have-been-sent-before. Did-I-cast-out into exile (him),

quem videbam jam ingressum esse in bellum?  
whom I did-see already to have-entered into war?

Etenim, credo iste Manlius centurio, qui  
For, I believe (forsooth) that Manlius the centurion, who



posuit castra in Fesulano agro, indixit  
 has-placed camps in the Fesulanian field (territory), has-declared  
 bellum Romano populo suo nomine: et illa  
 war to (on) the Roman people in his-own name: and these  
 castra nunc expectant non Catilinam ducem: et  
 camps now await not Catiline (as) leader: and  
 ille, ejectus in exsilium, conferet se  
 he, being-cast-out into exile, will-betake himself (to)  
 Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in hæc castra.  
 Marseilles, as they say, not into these camps.

7. O miseram conditionem, non modo reipublicæ  
 O wretched condition, not only of the republic  
 administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ? Nunc, si  
 to be-managed, but even to be-preserved? Now, if  
 L. Catilina, circumclusus ac debilitatus meis consiliis,  
 L. Catiline, closed-around and weakened by my counsels,  
 laboribus, periculis, pertimuerit subito,  
 labours, (and) dangers, may have-feared suddenly,  
 mutaverit sententiam, deseruerit suos,  
 may have-changed (his) opinion, may have-deserted his-own  
 abjecerit consilium belli faciundi,  
 (associates), may have-cast-off the counsel of war to be-made  
 converterit iter ex hoc  
 (the design of making war), may have-turned (his) journey out-of this  
 cursu sceleris et belli ad fugam atque in exsilium;  
 course of crime and of war to flight and into exile;  
 ille dicetur non spoliatus esse a me armis  
 he will-be-said not to have-been-despoiled by me from the arms  
 audaciæ, non obstupefactus ac perterritus meâ  
 of audacity, not astonished and frightened by my  
 diligentia, non depulsus de spe que conatu, sed  
 diligence, not driven-off from (his) hope and attempt, but  
 indemnatus, innocens ejectus in exsilium a  
 uncondemned, innocent (to have been) cast-out into exile by  
 consule vi et minis: et erunt qui  
 the consul by force and by threats: and there-will-be (persons) who  
 velint illum, si fecerit hoc, existimari non  
 may-wish him, if he shall-have-done this, to be-thought not

improbum, sed miserum: me non diligentissimum  
dishonest, but wretched: me not a most-diligent

consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum. Est tanti  
consul, but a most-cruel tyrant. It-is of so-much

mihi, Quirites, subire tempestatem  
to me (I think it worth the while), Romans, to undergo the tempest

hujus falsæ atque iniquæ invidiæ, dummodo  
of this false and unjust envy (unpopularity), provided-that

periculum hujus horribilis ac nefarii belli  
the danger of this horrible and nefarious war

depellatur a vobis. Sane dicatur  
may-be-driven-off from you. Truly he may-be-said

ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exilium.  
to have-been-cast-out by me, provided-that he may-go into exile.

Sed credite mihi, est non iturus. Ego numquam  
But believe to me, he-is not about-to-go. I never

optabo a immortalibus diis, Quirites, causâ meæ  
shall-wish from the immortal gods, Romans, for-the-sake of my

invidiæ levandæ, ut audiatis L. Catilinam  
unpopularity to be-relieved, that you may-hear L. Catiline

ducere exercitum hostium, atque volitare in  
to lead an army of the enemies, and to flutter-about in

armis: sed tamen audietis triduo: que  
arms: but yet you will-hear (it) in the-space-of-three-days: and

timeo illud multo magis, ne aliquando sit invidiosum  
I fear this by much more, lest at-length it may-be envious

mihi, quod emiserim potius  
(producing unpopularity) to me, that I may-have-sent-out rather

quam quod ejecerim illum. Sed cum  
than that I may have-cast-out him. But when (since)

sint homines, qui dicant illum ejectum esse  
there-may-be men, who may-say him to have-been-cast-out

cum profectus sit, iidem quid dicerent,  
when he may-have-departed, the same (persons) what would (they) say,

si interfectus esset? Quamquam isti, qui dictitant  
if he might-have-been-slain? Although those, who say-often

Catilinam ire Massiliam, queruntur non  
Catiline to go (is going to) Marseilles, complain-of not

tam, quam verentur hoc. Est nemo istorum  
so (so much), as they fear this. There-is no-one of those

tam misericors, qui malit non  
so merciful, who may wish-rather not (who would not prefer)

illum ire ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses.  
him to go to Manlius than to the people-of-Marseilles.

Autem Mehercule, si ille numquam ante cogitasset  
But by-Hercules, if he never before might-have-devised

hoc, quod agit, tamen mallet se  
this, which he acts (he is doing), yet he would-wish-rather himself

interfici latrocinantem quam vivere  
to be-slain robbing (warring against his country) than to live

exsulem. Vero nunc, cum nihil adhuc acciderit  
an exile. But now, when nothing as-yet may-have-happened

ei præter voluntatem que cogitationem  
to him beside (contrary to) the wish and the thought

ipsius, nisi quod profectus est Româ nobis  
of himself, unless that he has-departed from Rome us (being)

vivis, optemus potius ut eat in  
alive, we may-wish (let us wish) rather that he may-go into

exsiliū quam queramur.  
exile than (that) we may-complain (of it).

8. Sed cur loquimur tam diu de uno  
But why do we-speak so long-time concerning one

hoste, et de eo hoste qui jam fatetur  
enemy, and concerning that enemy who already confesses

se esse hostem, et quem timeo non, quia murus  
himself to be an enemy, and whom I fear not, because the wall

interest, quod volui semper? dicimus  
(of the city) is-between, which I have-wished always? do we-say

nihil de his qui dissimulant, qui remanent  
nothing concerning those who dissemble, who remain

Romæ, qui sunt cum nobis? Quos ego quidem  
of Rome (at Rome), who are with us? Whom I indeed

studeo non tam ulcisci, quam  
study (greatly desire) not so (so much) to take-revenge-on, as

sanare, et placare eos reipublicæ, si  
to cure, to to appease (to reconcile) them to the republic, if

possit fieri ullo modo; neque intelligo  
it-may-be-able to be-done in any manner; nor do I understand

quare id possit non fieri, si volent  
wherefore that may be-able not to be-done, if they shall-wish

audire me. Enim exponam vobis, Quirites, ex  
to hear me. For I will explain to you, Romans, out-of

quibus generibus hominum istæ copiae comparentur:  
what kinds of men those forces may be-prepared

deinde afferam singulis (plur.) medicinam  
(raised): afterwards I will-bring to each the medicine

consilii atque meæ orationis, si potero  
of (my) counsel and of my speech, if I shall-be-able (to offer)

quam. Est unum genus eorum, qui in magno  
any. There-is one kind of those, who (being) in great

ære alieno, etiam habent majores possessiones:  
debt, also have greater possessions:

adducti amore quarum, possunt dissolvi  
led by the love of which, they are-able to be-dissolved

nullo modo. Species horum  
(to be detached from them) in no manner. The appearance of these

hominum est honestissima (enim sunt locupletes);  
men is the most-honourable (for they-are wealthy);

vero voluntas et causa impudentissima. Tu  
but (their) wish and cause (is) most-shameless. Thou

sis ornatus et copiosus agris, tu  
mayest-be adorned (furnished) and abundant in fields, thou (mayest

ædificiis, tu argento, tu familiâ,  
be well furnished) with edifices, thou with silver, thou with household,

tu omnibus rebus; et dubites  
thou with all things; and mayest-thou-doubt (dost thou hesitate)

detrahere de possessione, acquirere ad  
to withdraw from (to diminish) thy possession, to acquire to

fidem? Enim quid expectas bellum?  
faith (to gain in credit)? For what dost-thou-expect war?

quid! ergo in vastatione omnium putas  
what! therefore in the laying-waste of all (things) dost-thou-think

tuas possessiones futuras sacrosanctas?  
thy possessions about-to-be sacred (invulnerable)?



an novas tabulas? errant,  
 whether (dost thou expect) new tablets (an abolition of debts)? they err,  
 qui expectant istas a Catilinâ. [Novæ] tabulæ  
 who expect those from Catiline. [New] tablets  
 proferentur meo beneficio, verum auctionariæ.  
 shall be-brought-forward by my kindness, but auctionary

Enim neque isti qui habent  
 {tablets — catalogues of sale). For neither those who have

possessiones possunt esse salvi ullâ aliâ ratione.  
 possessions are-able to be safe in any other manner.

Quod si voluissent facere maturius, neque  
 But-if they might-have-wished to do (it) earlier, nor

(id quod est stultissimum) certare cum usuris  
 (that which is most-foolish) to contend with usuries

fructibus prædiorum; uteremur his  
 with the fruits of (their) farms; we should-use (experience) with these

locupletioribus et melioribus civibus. Sed  
 (would have them) wealthier and better citizens. But

puto hosce homines minime pertimescendos,  
 I think these men least (very little) to be-feared,

quod aut possunt deduci de sententiâ;  
 because either they are-able to be-led-away from (their) opinion;

aut, si permanebunt, videntur mihi magis  
 or, if they shall-remain, they seem to me more (rather)

facturi vota contra rempublicam quam  
 about-to-make vows (wishes) against the republic than

laturi arma.  
 about-to-bear arms.

9. Est alterum genus eorum, qui quamquam  
 There-is another kind of those, who although

premuntur ære alieno, tamen expectant  
 they are-pressed with debt, yet expect

dominationem: volunt potiri rerum:  
 dominion (authority): they wish to possess of things (power):

arbitrantur se posse consequi honores, republicâ  
 they think themselves to be-able to attain honours, the republic

perturbatâ, quos desperant quietâ.  
 being-disturbed, which they despair (the republic being) quiet.

Quibus hoc videtur præcipiendum, scilicet unum  
 To whom this seems (fit) to be-advised, that-is-to-say one  
 et idem quod omnibus ceteris, ut desperent  
 and the same (thing) which to all the rest, that they may-despair  
 se posse consequi id, quod conantur: primum  
 themselves to be-able to attain that, which they attempt: first  
 omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere  
 of all myself to watch, to be-present, to foresee (provide)  
 reipublicæ: deinde magnos animas  
 for the republic: afterwards (secondly) great minds (spirit)  
 esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam,  
 to be in good men, great agreement (unanimity),  
 maximam multitudinem, præterea magnas copias  
 a very-great multitude (of them), besides great forces  
 militum: denique, immortales deos præsentés,  
 of soldiers: finally, the immortal gods being-present (propitious),  
 esse laturos auxilium huic invicto populo,  
 to-be about-to-bear aid to this unconquered people,  
 clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi,  
 (to this) most-famous empire, (to this) most-beautiful city,  
 contra tantam vim sceleris. Quod si jam  
 against so-great violence of crime. But-if already  
 adepti sint id, quod cupiunt cum summo  
 they may have-obtained that, which they desire with the highest  
 furore: num sperant illi se futuros consules,  
 fury: whether hope they themselves about-to-be consuls,  
 ac dictatores, aut etiam reges in cinere (*sing.*) urbis,  
 and dictators, or even kings in the ashes of the city,  
 et sanguine civium, quæ concupierant  
 and in the blood of the citizens, which (things) they have-coveted  
 conscleratâ ac nefariâ mente? Vident non  
 with criminal and nefarious mind? Do they-see not  
 se cupere id, quod si  
 themselves to desire (that they desire) that, which if  
 adepti fuerint, sit necesse concedi alicui  
 they shall-have-obtained, may-be necessary to be-conceded to some  
 fugitivo aut gladiatori? Tertium genus est jam  
 fugitive or gladiator? The third kind is already

affectum ætate, sed tamen robustum  
 affected by age (is old) but yet robust

exercitatione: ex quo genere est Manlius ipse,  
 by exercise: out-of which kind is Manlius himself,

cui Catilina nunc succedit. Hi sunt homines ex  
 to whom Catiline now succeeds. These are men out-of

iis coloniis quas Sulla constituit Fesulis, universas  
 those colonies which Sulla established at Fesulæ, the whole

quas ego sentio esse optimorum civium, et  
 which I perceive to be of the best citizens, and

fortissimorum virorum: sed tamen hi sunt coloni,  
 of the bravest men: but yet these are colonists,

qui jactarunt se sumtuosius que insolentius  
 who have-boasted themselves too-expensively and too-insolently

in insperatis que repentinis pecuniis. Dum hi  
 in (their) un hoped-for and sudden monies. While these

ædificant, tamquam beati: dum delectantur  
 build as-if happy (wealthy): while they are-delighted

prædiis, lecticis, magnis familiis,  
 with (their) farms, with couches, with great households,

apparatis conviviis, inciderunt in  
 with prepared (magnificent) banquets, they have-fallen-in into

tantum æs alienum, ut si velint esse salvi,  
 so-great debt, that if they may-wish to-be safe,

Sulla sit excitandus iis ab  
 Sulla may to be-raoused to them (Sulla must be raised by them) from

inferis: qui etiam impulerunt nonnullos agrestes,  
 the shades-below: who also have-impelled some rustics,

tenues atque egentes homines, in illam eandem  
 slender (poor) and needy men, into that same

spem veterum rapinarum. Utrosque quos ego,  
 hope of old rapines. Both whom I,

Quirites, pono in eodem genere prædatorum que  
 Romans, place in the same kind of plunderers and

direptorum. Sed moneo eos hoc: desinant furere,  
 of pillagers. But I advise them this: let them-cessae to rage,

ac cogitare proscriptiones et dictaturas. Enim  
 and to devise proscriptions and dictatorships. For

tantus dolor illorum temporum est inustus civitati,  
 so-great grief of those times is branded to the state,  
 ut jam non modo homines, sed ne quidem pecudes  
 hat now not only men, but not-even cattle  
 videantur mihi esse passuræ ista.  
 may-seem to me to be about-to-suffer those (things).

10. Quartum genus est sane varium, et mistum,  
 The fourth kind is truly various, and mixed,  
 et turbulentum: qui jampridem premuntur;  
 and turbulent: who long-since are-pressed (with debt);  
 qui nunquam emergent: qui vacillant in  
 who never will emerge (therefrom): who totter in  
 vetere ære alieno, partim inertia, partim negotio  
 old debt, partly by sloth, partly by business  
 gerendo male, partim  
 to be-carried-on badly (by conducting their business badly), partly  
 etiam sumtibus; qui defatigati vadimoniis,  
 also by expenses; who being-harassed by recognisances,  
 judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum,  
 by judgments, by proscriptions (sequestrations) of goods,  
 permulti dicuntur conferre se et ex urbe  
 very-many are-said to betake themselves both out-of the city  
 et ex agris in illa castra. Ego arbitror  
 and out-of the fields into those camps. I think  
 hosce esse non tam acres milites quam  
 these (latter) to be not so (so much) active soldiers as  
 lentos infitiores. Primum qui homines si possunt  
 slow cheats. First which men if they are-able  
 non stare, corruant; sed ita, ut non modo  
 not to stand, let-them-fall; but so, that not only  
 civitas, sed ne quidem proximi vicini sentiant.  
 the state, but not-even the nearest neighbours may-perceive.  
 Nam intelligo non illud, quamobrem, si possunt  
 For I understand not this, wherefore, if they are-able  
 non vivere honeste, velint perire turpiter;  
 not to live honourably, they may-wish to perish basely;  
 aut cur arbitrentur se perituros minare  
 or why they may-think themselves about-to perish with base



dolore cum multis quam si pereant soli. Quintum  
 pain with many than if they may-perish alone. The fifth

genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique, omnium  
 genus is of parricides, of assassins, finally, of all

facinorosorum, quos ego revoco non a Catilinâ.  
 the villanous, whom I call-back not from Catiline.

Nam neque possunt divelli ab eo; et sane  
 For neither are-they-able to-be-torn-away from him; and truly

pereant in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi  
 let-them-perish in robbery (war), since they-are so many

ut carcer possit non capere eos. Autem  
 that the prison may-be-able not to take (to hold) them. But

postremum genus non solum numero, verum etiam  
 the last kind not only in number, but also

genere ipso atque vitâ est: quod est proprium  
 in kind itself and in life is (this): which is proper

Catilinæ, de delectu ejus, immo vero  
 to Catiline (peculiarly his own), from the choice of him, yea-even

de complexu ac sinu ejus: quos  
 from the embrace and bosom of (his bosom friends): whom

videtis pexo capillo, nitidos, aut  
 you see with combed (curled) hair, neat (elegant), either

imberbes, aut barbatos bene; tunicis  
 beardless, or bearded well (exquisitely); with tunics

municatis et talaribus; amictos velis,  
 having-sleeves and reaching-to-the-ankles; clothed with veils,

non togis: omnis industria vitæ quorum et  
 not with togas: all the industry of the life of whom and

labor vigilandi expromitur in cœnis  
 labour of watching is-brought-out (exhibited) in suppers

antelucanis. Omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes  
 before-day-break. All gamesters, all adulterers, all

impuri que impudici versantur in his  
 impure and unchaste (persons) are-engaged (associate) in these

gregibus: hi tam lepidi ac delicati pueri didicerunt  
 flocks: these so pretty and delicate boys have-learnt

non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et  
 not only to love, and to be loved, nor to sing and

saltare, sed etiam vibrare sicas, et spargere  
to dance, but also to brandish poniards, and to scatter

venena: qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiamsi  
poisons: who unless they go-out, unless they-perish, even-if

Catilina perierit, scitote hoc futurum

Catiline may have-perished, know-ye this about-to-be (that this will be)

Catilinarium seminarium in republicâ. Verumtamen  
a Catilinarian seminary (nursery) in the republic. Nevertheless

quid isti miseri volunt sibi? Num  
what (do) those wretched (persons) wish for themselves? Whether

sunt ducturi suas mulierculas cum  
are-they about-to-lead their little-women (their women) with

se in castra? Autem quemadmodum poterunt  
themselves into the camps? But how will they-be-able

carere illis, præsertim jam his noctibus?  
to be-without them, especially now in these nights (of November)?

Autem quo pacto illi perferent  
But by-what agreement (in what manner) will-they-bear

Apenninum, atque illas pruinas ac nives? Nisi  
the Apennine, and those frosts and snows? Unless

putant se toleraturos hiemem facilius  
they think themselves about-to-support winter more-easily

idcirco, quod didicerunt saltare nudi in  
on-this-account, because they-have-learnt to dance naked in

conviviis.

banquets.

11. O bellum magnopere pertimescendum, cum  
O war greatly to be-feared, when

Catilina sit habiturus hanc prætoriam cohortem  
Catiline may-be about-to-have this prætorian cohort

scortorum. Instruite nunc, Quirites, vestra  
'body guard) of debauchees. Array now, Romans, your

præsidia, que vestros exercitus contra has tam  
guards, and your armies against these so

præclaras copias Catilinæ: et primum opponite  
famous forces of Catiline: and first oppose

vestros consules que imperatores illi confecto et  
your consuls and commanders to that exhausted and

saucio gladiatori: deinde educite florem ac  
 wounded gladiator: afterwards lead-out the flower and  
 robur totius Italiæ contra illam ejectam ac  
 strength of the whole of Italy against that out-cast and  
 debilitatam manum naufragorum. Verc  
 debilitated hand (band) of shipwrecked (of ruined men). But  
 jam urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum  
 now the cities of (your) colonies and of (your) municipal-towns  
 respondebunt silvestribus tumulis  
 will-answer (will oppose) to the woody (rustic) hillocks  
 Catilinæ. Neque vero debeo conferre cæteras  
 of Catiline. Nor truly ought-I to compare (your) other  
 copias, vestra ornamenta, præsidia, cum inopiâ atque  
 forces, your equipments, guards, with the need and  
 egestate illius latronis. Sed si, omnibus his rebus  
 want of that robber. But if, all these things  
 omissis, quibus nos suppeditamur, ille eget.  
 being-omitted, in which we are-supplied, he is without,  
 senatu, Romanis equitibus, populo, urbe, ærario,  
 a senate, Roman knights, a people, the city, a treasury,  
 vectigalibus, cunctâ Italiâ, omnibus provinciis,  
 revenues, the whole Italy, all the provinces,  
 exteris nationibus: si, his rebus omissis, velimus  
 foreign nations: if, these things being-omitted, we may-wish  
 contendere causas ipsas, quæ configunt  
 to contend (to compare) the causes themselves, which conflict  
 inter se, possumus intelligere ex eo  
 between themselves, we are-able to understand out-of that  
 ipso quam valde illi jaceant. Enim  
 (thing) itself how very-much they may-lie (are fallen). For  
 ex hâc parte pudor pugnat, illinc  
 out-of this part (on this side) modesty fights, thence (on the  
 petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc  
 other side) insolence; hence (on this side) chastity, thence  
 stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas,  
 adultery; hence faith, thence cheating; hence piety,  
 illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc  
 thence crime; hence constancy, thence madness; hence

nonestas, illinc turpitude; hinc continentia, illinc  
 honesty, thence baseness; hence continence, thence  
 'ubido; denique, æquitas, temperantia, fortitud;,  
 lust; finally, equity, temperance, fortitude,  
 prudentia, omnes virtutes certant cum iniquitate, cum  
 prudence, all virtues contend with iniquity, with  
 luxuriâ, cum ignaviâ, cum temeritate, cum omnibus  
 luxury, with idleness, with rashness, with all  
 vitiis; postremo, copiae cum egestate, bona  
 vices; lastly, forces (supplies) with want, good  
 ratio cum perdita, sana mens cum  
 reason with lost (reason), a healthy (sound) mind with  
 amentia; denique, bona spes configit cum desperatione  
 madness; finally, good hope conflicts with despair  
 omnium rerum. In certamine ac prælio hujusmodi,  
 of all things. In a contest and battle of this sort,  
 nonne, etiamsi studia hominum  
 whether-or-not, even-if the desires (support) of men  
 deficient, immortales dii ipsi cogent tot  
 may-fail, the immortal gods themselves will force so-many  
 et tanta vitia superari ab his præclarissimis  
 and so-great vices to-be-overcome by these most-famous  
 virtutibus?  
 virtues?

12. Cum quæ sint ita, Quirites, vos defendite  
 Since which (things) may-be thus, Romans, do you-defend

vestra tecta quemadmodum jam antea custodiis que  
 your roofs as already before with guards and  
 vigiliis: consultum est ac  
 with watches: it has-been-consulted (it has been cared for) and  
 provisum mihi, ut esset satis præsidii  
 provided to be (by me), that there-should-be enough of guard  
 urbi sine vestro motu, ac sine  
 to the city without your motion (without disturbing you), and without  
 ullo tumultu. Omnes vestri coloni que municipales  
 any tumult. All your colonists and municipal  
 facti certiores a me de  
 citizens being-made more-certain (being informed) by me concerning



hâc nocturnâ excursionē Catilinæ, defendent facile  
 this nocturnal excursion of Catiline, will defend easily

suas urbes quę fines: gladiatores, quam ille  
 their cities and territories: the gladiators, which he (Catiline)

putavit fore maximam et certissimam  
 thought to be-about-to-be a very-great and a very-certain

manum sibi, quamquam sunt meliore animo  
 hand (band) to himself, although they-are with better mind

quam pars patriciorum, tamen continebuntur  
 than a part of the patricians, yet shall-be-retained

nostrâ potestate. Q. Metellus, quem ego,  
 (held in check) by our power. Q. Metellus, whom I,

prospiciens hoc, præmisi in Gallicanum quę  
 foreseeing this, sent-before into the Gallic and

Picenum agrum, aut opprimet hominem, aut  
 the Picenian land, either will-oppress the man, or

prohibebit omnes motus quę conatus ejus. Autem  
 will hinder all the movements and attempts of him. But

de reliquis rebus constituendis, maturandis,  
 concerning the remaining things to be-appointed, to be-hastened,

agendis, referemus jam ad senatum, quem videtis  
 to be-acted, we will-refer now to the senate, which you see

vocari. Nunc etiam atque etiam volo  
 to be-called. Now also and also (again and again) I wish

illos monitos qui remanserunt in urbe, atque adeo,  
 those (to be) advised who have-remained in the city, and-moreover,

qui relictī sunt a Catilinâ contra salutem urbis,  
 who have-been-left by Catiline against the safety of the city,

quę omnium vestrū, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen  
 and of all you, although they-are enemies, yet

quia nati sunt cives. Si mea lenitas adhuc  
 because they have-been-born citizens. If my mildness hitherto

visa est cui solutior, expectavit  
 has-seemed to any (person) too-loose (too lax), it has-waited-for

hoc, ut id erumperet quod latebat. Quod  
 this, that that might-burst-forth which did lie-concealed. What

est reliquum, possum non jam  
 is remaining (as far as regards the future), I am-able not now

oblivisci hanc esse meam patriam, me esse consulem  
to forget this to be my country, myself to be the consul

horum; aut esse vivendum mihi  
of these; either to be to be-lived to (by) me (that I must either live)

cum his, aut moriendum pro his  
with this, or to be-died for these (or die in defence of these).

Est nullus custos portæ, nullus insidiator  
There-is no keeper of the gate (of the city), no plotter

viæ; si qui volunt exire, possunt  
of the way (way-layer); if any wish to go-out, they are-able

consulere sibi. Vero qui commoverit se  
to consult for themselves. But (he) who shall-have-moved himself

in urbe, cujus ego deprehendero non modo  
in the city, of whom I shall-have-detected not only

ullum factum, sed inceptum ve conatum; sentiet  
any deed, but undertaking or attempt; shall-perceive

esse in hac urbe vigilantes consules, esse  
to be (that there are) in this city vigilant consuls, to be

egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma,  
excellent magistrates, to be a bold senate, to be arms,

esse carcerem, quem nostri majores voluerunt esse  
to be a prison, which our ancestors have-wished to be

vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum.  
the avenger of nefarious and of manifest crimes.

13. Atque omnia hæc agentur sic,  
And all these (things) shall-be-acted (done) so,

Quirites, ut maximæ res minimo motu, summa  
Romans, that the greatest things with the least commotion, the highest

pericula nullo tumultu, intestinum ac domesticum  
dangers with no tumult, an intestine and domestic

bellum, crudelissimum ac maximum post memoriam  
war, the most-cruel and the greatest after (since) the memory

hominum, sedetur, me uno  
of men, may-be-allayed, myself one (an individual)

togato duce et imperatore. Quod ego  
wearing-the-toga (being) the leader and commander. Which I

administrabo sic, Quirites, ut si poterit fieri  
will administer so, Romans, that if it shall-be-able to be-done

ullo modo, ne quidem quisquam improbus  
 in any manner, not-even any dishonest (person)  
 sufferat pœnam sui sceleris in hâc urbe. Sed  
 may undergo the penalty of his crime in this city. But  
 si vis manifestæ audaciæ, si periculum impendens  
 if the violence of manifest audacity, if the danger hanging-over  
 patriæ deduxerint me necessario de hâc  
 to (my) country shall have-led-away me necessarily from this  
 lenitate animi; perficiam profecto illud quod videtur  
 lenity of mind; I will-perform indeed that which seems  
 vix optandum in tanto et tam  
 scarcely to be-wished-for (expected) in so-great and so  
 insidioso bello, ut ne quis bonus intereat, que  
 deceitful war, that not any good (person) may-perish, and  
 vos omnes jam possitis esse salvi pœnâ  
 you all now may-be-able to be safe by the penalty  
 paucorum. Quæ quidem ego polliceor  
 (punishment) of a few. Which (things) indeed I promise  
 vobis, Quirites, fretus neque meâ prudentiâ, neque  
 to you, Romans, relying neither on my-own prudence, nor  
 humanis consiliis; sed multis et non dubiis  
 on human counsels; but on many and not doubtful  
 significationibus immortalium deorum, quibus  
 significations (omens) of the immortal gods, who  
 ducibus ego ingressus sum in hanc spem que  
 (being) leaders I have-entered into this hope and  
 sententiam; qui jam defendunt non sua templa  
 opinion; who now defend not their-own temples  
 atque tecta urbis procul, ut quondam  
 and the roofs (houses) of the city afar-off, as once  
 solebant, ab externo atque longinquo hoste,  
 they were-accustomed, from an external and distant enemy,  
 sed hic præsentibus suo numine atque auxilio:  
 but here present with their-own influence and aid:  
 quos vos, Quirites, debetis precari, venerari, atque  
 whom you, Romans, ought to pray-to, to adore, and  
 implorare, ut defendant a nefario scelere  
 to implore, that they may-defend from the nefarious crime

perditissimorum      civium,    hanc    urbem,    quam  
 of most-lost (abandoned) citizens,    this    city,    which  
 voluerunt    esse    pulcherrimam,    florentissimam,  
 they have-wished    to be    the most-beautiful,    the most-flourishing,  
 que    potentissimam,    omnibus    copiis    hostium  
 and    the most-powerful,    all    the forces    of enemies  
 superatis    terrâ    que    mari.  
 being-overcome    by land    and    by sea.



TERTIA ORATIO  
*THE THIRD ORATION*  
 AD QUIRITES.  
 TO THE ROMANS.

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1. QUIRITES, videtis rempublicam, que vitam  
 Romans, you see the republic, and the life  
 patriâ omnium, bona, fortunas, conjuges, que vestros  
 or you all, goods, fortunes, wives, and your  
 liberos, atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii,  
 children, and this abode of a most-famous empire,  
 fortunatissimam que pulcherrimam urbem, ereptam  
 a most-fortunate and most-beautiful city, snatched  
 ex flammâ atque ferro, ac pæne ex faucibus  
 out-of flame and sword, and almost out-of the jaws  
 fati, et conservatam ac restitutam vobis, hodierno die,  
 of fate, and preserved and restored to you, on-this-day,  
 summo amore immortalium deorum  
 by the highest (very great) love of the immortal gods  
 erga vos, meis laboribus, consiliis que periculis.  
 towards you, by my labours, counsels and dangers.  
 Et si ii dies quibus conservamur sunt non minus  
 And if those days in which we are-preserved are not less  
 jucundi atque illustres nobis quam illi quibus  
 pleasant and illustrious to us than those in which  
 nascimur; quod lætitia salutis est certa, conditio  
 we are-born; because the joy of safety is certain, the condition  
 nascendi incerta; et quod nascimur sine  
 of being-born (is) uncertain; and because we are-born without  
 sensu, servamur cum voluptate: profecto quoniam  
 feeling, we are-preserved with pleasure: indeed because

**sustulimus** illum Romulum, qui condidit hanc urbem,  
 we have-raised that Romulus, who founded this city,  
**ad** immortales deos benevolentiam que famam:  
 to the immortal gods with benevolence and with fame:  
**is** debebit esse in honore apud vos que vestros  
 he will-ought to be in honour with (among) you and your  
**posteris**, qui servavit hanc eandem urbem conditam  
 descendants, who has-preserved this same city being-founded  
**que** amplificatam. Nam restinximus ignes jam  
 and enlarged. For we-have-extinguished the fires already  
**prope** subjectos que circumdatos toti urbi, templis,  
 nearly cast-under and placed-around to the whole city, to the temples,  
**delubris**, tectis, ac mœnibus; que  
 to the shrines, to the roofs (houses), and to the walls; and (we)  
**eadem** retudimus gladios dstrictos in rempublicam,  
 the same have-blunted the swords drawn against the republic,  
**que** dejecimus mucrones eorum ab  
 and we have-cast-down the points of them (of the swords) from  
**vestris** jugulis. Quæ quoniam  
 your throats. Which (things) because  
**illustrata** sunt, patefacta, comperta in  
 they have-been-brought-to-light, made-open, discovered in  
**senatu** per me, exponam jam breviter vobis,  
 the senate through me, I will-explain now briefly to you,  
**Quirites**, ut vos, qui ignoratis, possitis  
 Romans, that you, who are-ignorant-of (them), may be-able  
**scire** ex actis, et quanta et quam manifesta,  
 to know out-of (from) acts, both how-great and how manifest  
**et** quâ ratione investigata sint  
 (they are), and by what reason (manner) they may have-been-traced  
**et** comprehensa. Principio, ut Catilina erupit  
 and detected. In the beginning, when Catiline burst-out  
**ex** urbe paucis diebus ante, cum reliquisset  
 out-of the city by a few days before, when he might-have-left  
**Romæ** socios sui sceleris, acerrimos  
 of Rome (at Rome) the partners of his crime, the most-active  
**duces** hujusce nefarii belli: vigilavi semper, et  
 leaders of this nefarious war: I have-watched always, and

providi, Quirites, quemadmodum possemus esse  
 have-foreseen, Romans, in-what-manner we might-be-able to be  
 salvi in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis.  
 safe in so-great and so hidden snares.

2. Nam tum, cum ejiciebam Catilinam ex urbe  
 For then, when I did-cast-out Catiline out-of the city  
 (enim vereor non jam invidiam hujus verbi,  
 (for I fear not now the envy (unpopularity) of this word,  
 cum illa sit magis timenda, quod exierit  
 since that may-be more to-be-feared, because he may have-gone-out  
 vivus), sed tum cum volebam illum exterminari,  
 alive), but then when I did-wish him to be-banished,  
 putabam aut reliquam manum conjuratorum  
 I did-think either the remaining band of conspirators  
 exituram simul, aut eos qui restitissent  
 about-to-go-out together, or those who might-have-remained  
 fore infirmos ac debiles sine illo. Atque  
 to be-about-to-be infirm and weak without him. And  
 ego, ut vidi eos, quos sciebam esse inflammatos  
 I, when I saw those, whom I did-know to be inflamed  
 maximo furore et scelere, esse cum nobis, et  
 with the greatest fury and crime, to be with us, and  
 remansisse Romæ, consumsi omnes dies que  
 to have-remained at Rome, consumed all (my) days and  
 noctes in eo, ut sentirem ac viderem quid  
 nights in this, that I might-perceive and I might-see what  
 agerent, quid molirentur: ut, quoniam mea  
 they might-act, what they might-attempt: that, because my  
 oratio faceret minorem fidem vestris auribus,  
 oration might-make less faith to your ears,  
 propter incredibilem magnitudinem  
 (would gain little credit), because of the incredible greatness  
 sceleris, comprehenderem rem ita, ut tum demum  
 of the crime, I might-detect the thing so, that then at-length  
 provideretis vestræ salutis animis, cum  
 you might-foresee (provide) for your safety with (your) minds, when  
 videretis maleficium ipsum oculis. Itaque  
 you might-see the mischief itself with (your) eyes. Therefore

**ut** **comperi** **legatos** **Allobrogum**  
**when** **I discovered** **the ambassadors** **of the Allobroges**  
 sollicitatos esse a P. Lentulo, causâ Transalpini  
 to have-been-solicited by P. Lentulus, for-the-sake of a Transalpine  
 belli, et Gallici tumultûs excitandi, que eos  
 war, and of a Gallic tumult to be-excited, and those  
 missos esse in Galliam ad suos cives, que eodem  
 to have-been-sent into Gaul to their citizens, and by the same  
 itinere, cum litteris que mandatis ad Catilinam, que  
 journey, with letters and commands to Catiline, and  
 Vulturcium adjunctum comitem iis, atque literas  
 Vulturcius joined (as) a companion to them, and letters  
 datas esse huic ad Catilinam, putavi facultatem  
 to have-been-given to him to Catiline, I thought the means  
 oblatam mihi, ut quod erat difficillimum, que  
 offered to me, that (a thing) which was most-difficult, and  
 quod ego semper optabam a immortalibus diis,  
 which I always did-wish-for from the immortal gods,  
 tota res deprehenderetur manifesto non solum  
 that the whole thing might-be-detected manifestly not only  
 a me sed etiam a senatu, et a vobis. Itaque  
 by me but also by the senate, and by you. Therefore  
 hesterno die vocavi ad me L. Flaccum et C. Pomtinum,  
 on-yesterday I called to me L. Flaccus and C. Pomtinus,  
 fortissimos prætores, atque viros amantissimos  
 the most-bold prætors, and men most-loving  
 reipublicæ: exposui omnem rem; ostendi quid  
 of the republic: I explained all the things; I showed what  
 placeret fieri. Autem illi, qui  
 it might-please (what I thought proper) to be-done. But they, who  
 sentirent omnia præclara atque egregia  
 might-feel all illustrious and excellent (sentiments)  
 de republicâ, susceperunt negotium sine  
 concerning the republic, took-up the business without  
 recusatione, ac sine ullâ morâ, et cum  
 refusal, and without any delay, and when  
 advesperasceret, pervenerunt occulte ad Muſvium  
 it might-become-evening, they-arrived secretly to (at) the Mulvian



pontem, atque fuerunt ibi in proximis villis,  
 bridge, and were there in the nearest country-houses,  
 ita bipartito, ut Tiberis et pons interesset  
 so in-two-parties, that the Tiber and the bridge might-be-between  
 inter eos. Autem et ipsi eduxerunt multos fortes  
 between them. But both they led-out many bold  
 viros eodem sine suspicione cujusquam, et  
 men to-the-same-place without the suspicion of-any-one, and  
 ego miseram ex Reatinâ præfecturâ complures  
 I had-sent out-of the Reatinian prefecture many  
 delectos adolescentes, operâ quorum utor  
 chosen young-men, with the assistance of whom I use  
 assidue in republicâ, præsidio cum gladiis.  
 constantly in the republic, to a guard (as a guard) with swords  
 Interim tertiâ vigiliâ fere exactâ, cum  
 In-the-mean-time the third watch almost being-completed, when  
 legati Allobrogum inciperent jam ingredi  
 the ambassadors of the Allobroges might-begin already to enter-upon  
 Mulvium pontem cum magno comitatu, que  
 the Mulvian bridge with a great attendance, and  
 Vulturcius unâ, impetus fit in eos:  
 Vulturcius together (with them), an attack is-made upon them:  
 gladii educuntur et ab illis, et a nostris; res  
 swords are-drawn-out both by them, and by our (men); the thing  
 erat nota prætoribus solis; ignorabatur a  
 was known to the prætors alone; it-was-unknown by  
 ceteris  
 the rest.

### 3. Tum interventu Pomtini

Then at-the-coming-between (on the intervention) of Pomtinus  
 atque Flacci, pugna, quæ commissæ erat, sedatur  
 and of Flaccus, the fight, which had-been-engaged, is-appeased.  
 Quæcunque litteræ erant in eo comitatu  
 Whatever letters were in that attendance (company)  
 traduntur prætoribus, signis integris;  
 are-delivered-up to the prætors, with the signs (seals) entire;  
 ipsi comprehensi deducuntur ad me, cum  
 themselves being-seized are-led-down to me, when

dilucesceret jam. Atque vocavi statim ad  
 it might-become-daybreak already. And I called immediately to  
 me Cimbrum Gabinium, improbissimum machinatorem  
 me Cimbrus Gabinus, the most-wicked contriver  
 omnium horum scelerum, suspicantem nihildum.  
 of all these crimes, (he) suspecting nothing-as-yet  
 Deinde item L. Statilius arcessitur, et post eum  
 Then also L. Statilius is-sent-for, and after him  
 C. Cethegus; autem Lentulus venit tardissime, credo  
 C. Cethegus; but Lentulus came most-slowly, I believe  
 quod vigilarat proximâ nocte præter  
 because he-had-watched on the-nearest (last) night beyond  
 consuetudinem litteris dandis.  
 (his) custom. in letters to be-given (in giving the letters).  
 Vero cum placeret summis ac clarissimis  
 But when it might-please (seem fit) to the highest and most-famous  
 viris hujus civitatis, qui, re auditâ, convenerant  
 men of this state, who, the thing being-heard, had-come-together  
 frequentes ad me mane, litteras aperiri  
 frequent (in numbers) to me in-the-morning, the letters to be-opened  
 a me prius quam deferri ad senatum; ne, si nihil  
 by me before than to be-referred to the senate; lest, if nothing  
 inventum esset, tantus tumultus videretur  
 might-have-been-found, so-great disturbance might-seem (to be)  
 injectus civitati a me temere; negavi me esse  
 cast-in to the state by me rashly; I denied myself to be  
 facturum, ut deferrem non integram rem  
 about-to-make, that I should-refer not the entire thing  
 de publico periculo ad publicum consilium.  
 concerning the public danger to the public council.  
 Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quæ delata erant  
 For, Romans, if those (things), which had-been-referred  
 ad me, reperta essent non; tamen ego  
 (reported) to me, might-have-been-found not; yet I  
 arbitrabar non nimiam diligentiam esse pertimescendam  
 did-think not too-great diligence to be to be-feared  
 mihi in tantis periculis reipublicæ. Coëgi  
 to me (by me) in so-great dangers of the republic. I collected

**celeriter frequentem senatum, ut vidistis.**  
 quickly a frequent (numerous) senate, as you have-seen.

**Atque interea, admonitu Allobrogum, misi**  
 And in-the-mean-time, by the advice of the Allobroges, I sent

**statim C. Sulpicium, prætorem, fortem virum, qui,**  
 immediately C. Sulpicius, the prætor, a bold man, who,

**si esset quid telorum, efferret**  
 if there-might-be any (thing) of weapons, might-bring-(them)-out

**ex ædibus (plur.) Cethegi; ex quibus ille**  
 out-of the house of Cethegus; out-of which he

**extulit maximum numerum sicarum et**  
 brought-out a very-great number of poniards and

**gladiorum.**  
 of swords.

**4. Introduxi Vulturcium sine Gallis; dedi**  
 I led-in Vulturcius without the Gauls; I gave

**ei publicam fidem, jussu senatus; hortatus sum**  
 to him the public faith, by order of the senate; I exhorted

**ut indicaret ea, quæ sciret sine**  
 that he should-indicate those (things), which he might-know without

**timore. Tum ille, cum recreasset se vix**  
 fear. Then he, when he might-have-recovered himself scarcely

**ex magno timore, dixit, se habere mandata et**  
 out-of the great fear, said, himself to have commands and

**litteras a P. Lentulo ad Catilinam, ut uteretur**  
 letters from P. Lentulus to Catiline, that he-should-use

**præsidio servorum, et accederet cum**  
 with guard (the help) of slaves, and should-approach with

**exercitu ad urbem quam primum; autem id eo**  
 the army to the city as-soon-as-possible; but that with this

**consilio, ut cum incendissent urbem ex**  
 design, that when they might-have-set-fire-to the city out-of

**omnibus partibus, quemadmodum descriptum erat**  
 all parts, as it-had-been-described

**que distributum, que fecissent infinitam cædem**  
 and distributed, and might-have-made an infinite slaughter

**civium, ille esset præsto qui et exciperet**  
 of citizens, he might-be at-hand who both might-catch (those)

fugientes, et conjungeret se cum his ducibus  
fleeing, and might-unite himself with these leaders

urbanis. Autem Galli introducti dixerunt  
belonging-to-the-city. But the Gauls being-led-in said

jusjurandum et litteras datas esse sibi a  
an oath and letters to have-given to themselves by

P. Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem;  
P. Lentulus, Cethegus, (and) Statilius to their nation;

atque ita præscriptum esse sibi ab his et a  
and thus to have-been-prescribed to themselves by these and by

L. Cassio, ut mitterent equitatum in Italiam  
L. Cassius, that they should-send cavalry into Italy

quam primum, pedestres copias non defuturas  
as-soon-as-possible, foot-forces not about-to-be-wanting

sibi; autem Lentulum confirmasse sibi ex  
to them; but Lentulus to have-confirmed to them out-of

Sibyllinis fatis que responsis haruspicum, se esse  
the Sybilline fates and the answers of diviners, himself to be

illum tertium Cornelium, ad quem esset necesse  
that third Cornelius, to whom it might-be necessary

regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire:  
the kingdom (rule) of this city and the command to arrive:

Cinnam et Sullam fuisse ante se; que eundem  
Cinna and Sulla to have-been before himself; and the same

dixisse hunc esse annum fatalem ad  
(person) to have-said this to be the year ordained-by-fate to (for)

interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset  
the destruction of this city and empire, which might-be

decimus annus post absolutionem virginum, autem  
the tenth year after the acquitting of the virgins, but

vicesimus post incensionem Capitolii. Autem  
the twentieth after the setting-on-fire of the Capitol. But

dixerunt hanc controversiam fuisse Cethego cum  
they said this dispute to have-been to Cethegus with

cæteris, quod, placeret Lentulo et ceteris  
the rest, because, it might-please to Lentulus and to the rest

cædem fieri, atque urbem incendi  
the slaughter to be-made, and the city to be set-on-fire



Saturnalibus, id videri nimium longum.  
 on the Saturnalia that to-seem too-long

Cethego.  
 to Cethegus.

5. Ac, ne sit longum, Quirites, jussimus  
 And, lest it may-be long (tedious), Romans, we-ordered

tabellas proferri, quæ dicebantur  
 the tablets (letters) to be-brought-forward, which were said

datae (esse) a quoque: primum ostendimus signum  
 to have-been-given by each: first we showed the sign (seal)

Cethego; cognovit: nos incidimus linum;  
 to Cethegus; he acknowledged (it): we cut the thread;

legimus; erat scriptum manu ipsius senatui  
 we read; it was written with the hand of himself to the senate

et populo Allobrogum, sese esse facturum  
 and to the people of the Allobroges, himself to be about-to-do

quæ confirmasset legatis  
 (the things) which he might-have-confirmed (affirmed) to the ambassadors

eorum: orare ut item illi facerent quæ  
 of them: to beg that also they would-do (the things) which

legati eorum recipissent sibi.  
 the ambassadors of them received to them (might have taken on

Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante  
 themselves to promise). Then Cethegus, who a little before

respondisset aliquid de gladiis ac sicis  
 might-have-answered some (thing) concerning the swords and poniards,

quæ deprehensæ erant apud ipsum, quæ  
 which had been-discovered with him (at his house), and

dixisset se semper fuisse studiosum  
 might-have-said himself always to have-been studious (an admirer)

bonorum ferramentorum, debilitatus atque abjectus,  
 of good weapons, weakened and cast-down,

litteris recitatis, convictus conscientia, repente  
 the letters being-read-aloud, convicted by consciousness, suddenly

conticuit. Statilius introductus cognovit manum  
 became-silent. Statilius being-led-in acknowledged (his) hand

et suum signum; tabellæ recitatae sunt in fere  
 and his seal; tablets (letters) were-read-aloud unto nearly

eandem sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi  
 the same purpose; he confessed. Then I showed  
 tabellas Lentulo, et quæsiui ne  
 the tablets (letters) to Lentulus, and I sought (asked) whether  
 cognosceret signum; annuit; vero signum  
 he would-acknowledge the seal; he nodded-assent; but the seal  
 quidem est notum, inquam, imago clarissimi  
 indeed is known, I said, the image of the most-famous  
 viri tui avi, qui amavit patriam et suos cives  
 man thy grandfather, who loved (his) country and his citizens  
 unice, quæ quidem etiam muta debuit  
 singularly, which (image) indeed even (although) dumb ought  
 revocare te a tanto scelere. Litteræ ad senatum  
 to recall thee from so-great crime. The letters to the senate  
 que populum Allobrogum leguntur eâdem ratione:  
 and people of the Allobroges are-read in the same reason  
 si vellet dicere quid de his  
 (manner): if he might-wish to say any (thing) concerning these  
 rebus, feci potestatem. Atque ille quidem primo  
 things, I made (gave) power. And he indeed at-first  
 negavit; autem aliquanto post, toto indicio  
 denied; but somewhat after, the whole discovery  
 exposito atque edito, surrexit: quæsiuit a  
 being explained and being-published, he rose: he sought (asked) from  
 Gallis, quid esset sibi cum iis,  
 the Gauls, what might-be to himself with them (what he had to do  
 quamobrem venissent suam domum;  
 with them), wherefore they should-have-come (to) his house;  
 que item a Vulturcio. Qui cum respondissent  
 and also from Vulturcius. Who when they-might-have-answered  
 illi breviter que constanter, per quem que quoties  
 to him briefly and constantly, through whom and how-often  
 venissent ad eum; que quæsiissent  
 they might-have-come to him; and they might-have-sought (asked)  
 ab eo ne locutus esset nihil secum  
 from him whether he might-have-spoken nothing with-them  
 de Sibyllinis fatis: tum ille, subito demens  
 concerning the Sibylline fates: then he, suddenly mad

scelere, ostendit quanta vis conscientiæ  
with crime, showed how-great the force of consciousness

esset; nam cum posset inficiari id, repente  
might-be; for when he might-be-able to deny that, suddenly

præter opinionem omnium, confessus est: ita  
beyond (contrary to) the opinion of all, he confessed: thus

non modo illud ingenium et exercitatio dicendi,  
not only that ability and exercise of speaking,

quâ valuit semper, sed etiam, propter vim  
in which he prevailed always, but also, because-of the force

manifesti atque deprehensi sceleris, impudentia,  
of manifest and of detected crime, (his) impudence,

quâ superabat omnes, que improbitas defecit.  
in which he did-surpass all, and dishonesty failed (him).

Vero Vulturcius subito jussit litteras proferri  
But Vulturcius suddenly ordered the letters to be-brought-forward

atque aperiri, quas dicebat datas esse sibi  
and to be-opened, which he did-say to have-been-given to him

a Lentulo ad Catilinam. Atque ibi Lentulus  
by Lentulus to (for) Catiline. And there (then) Lentulus

perturbatus vehementissime, tamen cognovit et  
being-disturbed most-violently, yet acknowledged both

suum signum et manum; autem erant scriptæ  
his the seal and hand; but they were written

sine nomine, sed ita: "Cognosces qui sim ex  
without a name, but thus: "Thou wilt-know who I may-be out-of

eo quem misi ad te. Cura ut sis  
(from) him whom I have-sent to thee. Take-care that thou mayst-be

vir, et cogita in quem locum progressus sis,  
a man, and think (consider) into what a place thou mayst-have-advanced,

et vide quid jam sit necesse tibi. Cura ut  
and see what now may-be necessary for you. Take-care that

adjungas tibi auxilia omnium, etiam infimorum."  
thou mayst-join to thee the aids of all, even of the lowest."

Deinde Gabinius introductus cum primo cœpisset  
Then Gabinius being-led-in when at-first he might-have-begun

respondere impudenter, ad extremum negavit nihil  
to answer impudently, to (at) the last he denied nothing

**ex** iis quæ Galli insimulabant  
 out-of those (things) which the Gauls did accuse (lay to his charge)  
**Ac** cum illa visa sunt mihi quidem, Quirites,  
 And when those (things) seemed to me indeed, Romans,  
 certissima argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ,  
 most-certain arguments and discoveries of crime, the letters,  
 signa, manus, denique, confessio uniuscujusque:  
 seals, the hands, lastly, the confession of each:  
 tum illa multo certiora, color,  
 then (so) these (seemed to me) by much more-certain, the colour,  
 oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Enim obstupuerant  
 the eyes, the look, the silence. For they had-become-astonished  
 sic, intuebantur terram sic, nonnumquam  
 so, they did-look-upon the earth so, sometimes  
 adspiciebant inter se sic furtim,  
 they did-look among themselves (one upon the other) so by-stealth,  
 ut viderentur non jam indicari ab aliis, sed  
 that they might-seem not now to be-denounced by others, but  
 ipsi indicare se.  
 themselves to denounce themselves.

6. Indiciis expositis atque editis,  
 The discoveries being-explained and being-published,  
 Quirites, consului senatum, quid placeret  
 Romans, I consulted the senate, what it might-please (them)  
 fieri de summâ republicâ. Acerrimæ ac  
 to be-done concerning the chief republic. Most-severe and  
 fortissimæ sententiæ dictæ sunt a principibus,  
 most-bold opinions were-said by the chief (senators),  
 quas senatus consecutus est sine ullâ varietate. Et  
 which the senate followed without any variety. And  
 quoniam consultum senatus nondum perscriptum est,  
 since the decree of the senate not-yet has-been-transcribed,  
 exponam ex memoriâ vobis, Quirites, quid  
 I will-explain out-of memory to-you, Romans, what  
 senatus consuerit. Primum gratiæ aguntur  
 the senate may-have-voted. First thanks are-acted (given)  
 mihi amplissimis verbis, quod respublica  
 to me in most-ample words, because the republic



liberata sit                      maximis                      periculis                      virtute,  
 may have-been-liberated from the greatest                      dangers                      by (my) valour,  
 consilio,                      meâ providentiâ: deinde L. Flaccus et  
 by (my) counsel, by my                      foresight:                      then                      L. Flaccus                      and  
 C. Pomtinus, prætores, laudantur merito ac jure,  
 C. Pomtinus,                      the prætors, are-praised                      deservedly and with right,  
 quod                      usus essem                      forti                      que                      fideli  
 because I might-have-used (experienced) with the bold                      and                      faithful  
 operâ eorum; atque etiam laus impertitur                      forti  
 assistance of them;                      and                      also                      praise is-imperted                      to the bold  
 viro, meo collegæ, quod                      removisset                      a                      suis  
 man, to my colleague, because he might-have-removed from his-own  
 consiliis et                      reipublicæ eos qui fuissent  
 counsels                      and (from those) of the republic                      those who might-have-been  
 participes hujus conjurationis. Atque censuerunt ita,  
 partakers                      of this                      conspiracy.                      And                      they voted thus,  
 ut P. Lentulus, cum                      abdicasset                      se  
 that P. Lentulus,                      when                      he-might-have-abdicated                      himself  
 præturâ,                      tum                      traderetur                      in custodiam;  
 from the prætorship, then                      should-be-delivered-up into                      custody;  
 que item uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius,  
 and                      also                      that                      C. Cethegus,                      L. Statilius,                      P. Gabinius,  
 qui omnes erant præsentés, traderentur in  
 who                      all                      were                      present,                      should-be-delivered-up into  
 custodiam; atque hoc idem decretum est in  
 custody;                      and                      this                      same (thing)                      was-decreed                      against  
 L. Cassium, qui depoposcerat sibi procurationem  
 L. Cassius,                      who                      had-required                      for himself                      the management  
 urbis incendendæ: in M. Cæparium, cui  
 of the city to be-set-on-fire:                      against                      M. Cæparius,                      to whom  
 indicatum erat                      7                      Apuliam                      attributam esse  
 it had-been-indicated (it appeared)                      Apulia                      to have-been-assigned  
 ad pastores sollicitandos: in P. Furium, qui  
 to (for) the shepherds                      to be-solicited:                      against                      P. Furius,                      who  
 est ex                      his colonis, quos L. Sulla deduxit  
 is                      out-of (from) those colonists, whom                      L. Sulla led-down (to)  
 Fæsulæ; in Q. Manlium Chilonem, qui semper  
 Fæsulæ                      against                      Q. Manlius Chilo,                      who                      always

versatus erat una cum hoc Furio in hâc  
had-been-engaged together with this Furius in this

sollicitatione Allobrogum; in P. Umbrenum,  
solicitation of the Allobroges; against P. Umbrenus,

libertinum hominem, a quo constabat Gallos  
a freed-man, by whom it was-evident the Gauls

primum perductos esse ad Gabinium. Atque senatus  
first to have-been-led to Gabinius. And the senate

usus est eâ lenitate, Quirites, ut ex tantâ  
used with that mildness, Romans, that out-of so-great

conjuracione, que tantâ vi ac multitudine  
a conspiracy, and so-great force and multitude

domesticorum hostium, republicâ conservatâ,  
of domestic enemies, the republic being-preserved,

arbitraretur mentes reliquorum posse sanari  
it might-think the minds of the rest to be-able to be-cured

poenâ novem perditissimorum hominum.  
by the punishment of nine most-lost (most abandoned) men.

Atque etiam, Quirites, supplicatio decreta est meo  
And also, Romans, a thanksgiving was-decreed in my

nomine immortalibus diis, pro singulari meritis  
name to the immortal gods, for the singular merit

eorum; quod contigit primum mihi  
of these (things); which (thing) has happened first to me

togato post hanc urbem conditam;  
wearing-the toga (a civilian) after (since) this city being-built;

et decreta est his verbis, "Quod liberassem  
and it was-decreed in these words, "Because I might-have-freed

urbem incendiis, cives cæde, Italianam  
the city from conflagrations, the citizens from slaughter, Italy

bello." Si quæ supplicatio conferatur cum ceteris,  
from war." If which thanksgiving may be-compared with others,

Quirites, hoc intersit, quod ceteræ,  
Romans, this may be-the-difference, that others (have been appointed).

republicâ gestâ bene, hæc una constituta est,  
the republic being-carried-on well, this alone has been-appointed,

conservatâ. Atque illud, quod fuit faciendum  
(the state) being-preserved. And this, which was to-be-done

primum, factum est atque transactum. Nam quamquam  
first, was-done and dispatched. For although

P. Lentulus, patefactus indicii et suis  
P. Lentulus, being-exposed by discoveries and by his-own

confessionibus, judicio senatûs, amiserat non  
confessions, by the judgment of the senate, had-lost not

modo jus prætoris, verum etiam civis; tamen  
only the right of prætor, but also of citizen; yet

abdicavit se magistratu; ut quæ religio  
he abdicated himself from the magistracy; that what scruple

fuerat non C. Mario clarissimo viro, quo minus  
had-been not to C. Marius a most-famous man, by which less

occideret C. Glauciam, prætorem, de quo nihil  
he should kill C. Glaucias, a prætor, concerning whom nothing

decretum erat nominatim, nos liberaremur eâ  
had-been-decreed by-name, we should-be-freed from that

religione in P. Lentulo privato puniendo.  
scruple in P. Lentulus a private (person) to be-punished.

7. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, tenetis nefarios  
Now since, Romans, you-hold the nefarious

duces sceleratissimi que periculosissimi belli  
leaders of (this) most-wicked and most-dangerous war

jam captos et comprehensos, debetis existimare  
already taken and detected, you ought to think

omnes copias Catilinæ, omnes spes atque opes,  
all the forces of Catiline, all (his) hopes and resources,

concidisse, his periculis urbis depulsis. Quem  
to have-fallen, this dangers of the city being-driven-off. Whom

quidem ego, cum ego pellebam ex urbe,  
indeed I, when I did-drive out-of the city,

providebam hoc animo, Quirites, Catilinâ remoto,  
did-foresee this in (my) mind, Romans, Catiline being-removed,

nec somnum P. Lentuli, nec adipem L. Cassii,  
neither the sleep of P. Lentulus, nor the fat of L. Cassius,

nor furiosam temeritatem Cethegi esse pertimescendam  
nor the furious rashness of Cethegus to be to be-feared

mihi. Ille unus ex omnibus his erat  
to (by) me. He one (alone) (Catiline) out-of all these was

**timendus**, sed tamdiu dum continebatur mœnibus  
to be-feared, but (only) so-long while he was-contained by the walls

**urbis.** Norat omnia, tenebat  
of the city. He had-known (he knew) all (things), he did-hold

aditus omnium; poterat audebat  
(understand) the accesses of all; he was-able (and) did-dare

appellare, tentare, sollicitare: erat ei  
to call (salute), to try, to solicit: there-was to him (he had)

consilium aptum ad facinus; autem neque lingua  
counsel fit to (for) daring-deed; but neither (his) tongue

neque manus deerat consilio. Jam habebat  
nor hand was-wanting to (that) counsel. Already he did-have

certos homines delectos ac descriptos ad  
certain men chosen and described (appointed) to (for)

certas res conficiendas. Vero neque, cum  
certain things to be-completed. But neither, when

mandaverat aliquid, putabat confectum.  
he had-commanded some (thing), did he think (it) completed.

Erat nihil quod ipse obiret non, occurreret,  
There-was nothing which himself would-undergo not, would-oppose

vigilaret, laboraret: poterat  
(would lend aid to), would-watch, would-labour (not): he was-able

ferre frigus, sitim, famem. Nisi ego compulsem  
to bear cold, thirst, hunger. Unless I might-have-driven

hunc hominem tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem,  
this man so active, so prepared, so bold,

tam callidum, tam vigilantem in scelere, tam diligentem  
so cunning, so vigilant in crime, so diligent

in perditis rebus, ex domesticis insidiis in  
in lost (abandoned) things, out-of domestic snares into

latrocinium castrense (dicam id,  
robbery belonging-to-the-camp (war) (I will-say that,

quod sentio, Quirites), depulsem non facile  
which I think, Romans), I should-have-driven-off not easily

hanc tantam molem mali a vestris cervicibus. Ille  
this so-great mass of evil from your necks. He

constituisset non Saturnalia nobis, neque  
would-have-appointed not the Saturnalia for us, nor



denuntiasset tanto ante diem exitii et  
 would-have-denounced by so-much before the day of destruction and  
 fati reipublicæ, neque commisisset, ut  
 of fate to the republic, nor would he-have-committed, that (his)  
 signum, ut denique suæ litteræ deprehenderentur  
 seal, that in-fine his-own letters should-be-discovered  
 testes manifesti sceleris. Quæ nunc  
 witnesses of manifest crime. Which (things) now  
 gesta sunt, illo absente sic, ut nullum furtum  
 have-been-carried-on, he being-absent so, that no theft  
 in privatâ domo umquam inventum sit tam  
 in a private house ever may-have-been-found-out so  
 palam, quam hæc tanta conjuratio in republica  
 openly, as this so-great conspiracy in the republic  
 inventa est atque deprehensa manifesto. Quod si  
 has-been-found-out and discovered manifestly. But-if  
 Catilina remansisset in urbe ad hanc diem,  
 Catiline might-have-remained in the city to this day,  
 quamquam quoad fuit occurri atque obstiti  
 although as-long-as he was (here) I met and I opposed  
 omnibus consiliis ejus, tamen, ut dicam  
 to all the counsels (designs) of him, yet, that I may-say  
 levissime, fuisset dimicandum  
 most-lightly (to say the least), it would-have-been to be-fought  
 nobis cum illo, neque nos umquam, dum ille hostis  
 to (by) us with him, nor we ever, while that enemy  
 fuisset in urbe, liberassemus rempublicam  
 might-have-been in the city, should-have-freed the republic  
 tantis periculis, tantâ pace, tanto otio,  
 from so-great dangers, with so-great peace, with so-great ease,  
 tanto silentio.  
 with so-great silence.

8. Quamquam omnia hæc, Quirites,  
 Although all these (things) Romans,  
 administrata sunt a me ita, ut videantur et  
 have-been-managed by me so, that they may-seem both  
 gesta esse et provisa nutu  
 to have-been-carried-on and foreseen (provided for) at the nod (will)

atque consilio immortalium deorum. Que cum  
 and counsel of the immortal gods. And when  
 possumus consequi id conjecturâ, quod gubernatio  
 we are-able to arrive-at that by-conjecture, because the governance  
 tantarum rerum videtur vix potuisse esse  
 of so-great things seems scarcely to have-been-able to be (the work)  
 humani consilii: vero tum ita præsentes tulerunt  
 of human counsel: but then so present they brought  
 opem et auxilium nobis his temporibus, ut  
 assistance and aid to us in these times, that  
 possemus pæne videre eos oculis. Nam, ut  
 we might-be-able almost to see them with the eyes. For, that  
 omittam illa, faces que ardorem cœli  
 I may-omit these (things), the torches and the burning of the heaven  
 visas ab occidente nocturno tempore, ut  
 seen from the west in the nocturnal time, that (I may omit)  
 jactus fulminum, ut motus terræ, ut  
 the castings of lightnings, that the motions of the earth, that (I may omit)  
 cetera, quæ tam multa facta sunt,  
 other (things), which (being) so many were-done (happened),  
 nobis consulibus, ut immortales dii viderentur  
 us (being) consuls, so-that the immortal gods might-seem  
 canere hæc quæ nunc fiunt:  
 to sing (foretel) these (things) which now are-done (happen):  
 certe, Quirites, hoc quod sum dicturus est neque  
 certainly, Romans, this which I am about-to-say is neither  
 prætermittendum neque relinquendum. Nam profecto  
 to be-passed-over nor to be-left. For indeed  
 tenetis memoriâ, Cottâ et Torquato consulibus,  
 you hold in memory, Cotta and Torquatus (being) consuls,  
 complures res in Capitolio percussas esse de cœlo,  
 many things in the Capitol to have-been-struck from heaven,  
 cum et simulacra immortalium deorum depulsa sunt,  
 when both the images of the immortal gods were-thrust-down,  
 et statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ, et æra (*plur.*)  
 and the statues of ancient men cast-down, and the brass  
 legum liquefacta. Etiam ille Romulus.  
 (brazen tablets) of the laws melted. Also that Romulus

qui condidit hanc urbem, tactus est: quem  
 who founded this city, was-touched (scathed): whom  
 meministis fuisse in Capitolio inauratum  
 you-remembered to have-been in the Capitol overlaid-with-gold  
 parvum atque lactentem, inhiantem uberibus  
 little and sucking, gaping-after to the teats  
 lupinis. Quo tempore quidem, cum  
 belonging-to-the-wolf. At which time indeed, when  
 aruspices convenissent ex totâ Etruriâ,  
 diviners might-have-come-together out of the whole Tuscany,  
 dixerunt cædes atque incendia, et interitum  
 they said slaughters and conflagrations, and the destruction  
 legum, et civile ac domesticum bellum, et occasum  
 of the laws, and civil and domestic war, and the fall  
 totius urbis atque imperii appropinquare, nisi  
 of the whole city and empire to approach, unless  
 immortales dii placati omni ratione,  
 the immortal gods being-appeased in every reason (manner),  
 flexissent prope fata ipsa suo  
 might-have-bent (diverted) almost the fates themselves by their  
 numine. Itaque responsis illorum tunc  
 divinity (influence). Therefore at the answers of them then  
 et ludi facti sunt per decem dies, neque ulla  
 both games were-made through ten days, neither any  
 res prætermissa est quæ pertineret ad  
 thing was-omitted which might-pertain (tend) to  
 placandum deos; que iidem jusserunt facere  
 appeasing the gods; and the same (diviners) ordered to make  
 simulacrum Jovis majus, et collocare in excelso,  
 the image of Jupiter greater, and to place (it) in a lofty  
 et contra atque fuerat ante,  
 (situation), and on-the-contrary and (than) it had-been before,  
 convertere ad orientem; ac dixerunt se sperare,  
 to turn (it) to the east; and they said themselves to hope,  
 si illud signum, quod videtis, conspiceret  
 if that sign (statue), which you see, should-view (should look  
 ortum solis, et forum, que curiam,  
 towards) the rising of the sun, and the forum, and the council-house,

fore, ut ea consilia, quæ  
 to be-about-to-be (that it would be) that those counsels, which  
 inita essent clam contra salutem urbis  
 might-have-been-entered-into secretly against the safety of the city  
 atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut  
 and of the empire, would-be-brought-so-clearly-to-light, that  
 possent perspici a senatu que Romano  
 they might-be-able to be seen-through by the senate and Roman  
 populo. Atque illi consules locaverunt  
 people. And those consuls placed-out (made arrangements for)  
 illud collocandum ita; sed tanta fuit tarditas  
 that to be-placed thus; but so-great was the slowness  
 operis, ut collocaretur neque a superioribus  
 of the work, that it might-be-placed neither by the former  
 consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem.  
 consuls, nor by us before this-day.

9. Hic quis potest, Quirites, esse tam aversus  
 Here who is-able, Romans, to be so averse  
 a vero, tam præceps, tam captus mente,  
 from the truth, so headlong, so taken in mind (deprived  
 qui neget omnia hæc quæ  
 of understanding), who may deny all these (things) which  
 videmus, que præcipue hanc urbem, administrari  
 we see, and especially this city, to be-managed  
 nutu atque potestate immortalium Deorum?  
 by the nod and by the power of the immortal Gods?  
 Etenim cum responsum esset ita, cædes,  
 For when it might-have-been-answered thus, slaughters,  
 incendia, que interitum reipublicæ comparari,  
 conflagrations, and the destruction of the republic to be-prepared,  
 et ea a perditis civibus; quæ  
 and these (things) by lost (abandoned) citizens; which (things)  
 tum videbantur nonnullis incredibilia propter  
 then did-seem to some incredible because of  
 magnitudinem scelerum: sensistis ea  
 the greatness of the crimes: you have-perceived these (things)  
 non modo cogitata esse, verum etiam suscepta a  
 not only to have-been-devised, but even undertaken by



nefariis civibus. Vero nonne est illud ita præsens,  
 nefarious citizens. But is-not this so present,  
 ut videatur factum esse nutu optimi.  
 that it may-seem to have-been-done by the nod of the best,  
 maximi Jovis, ut, cum hodierno die mane et  
 the greatest Jupiter, that, when on this-day in the morning both  
 conjurati et indices eorum  
 the conspired (the conspirators) and the discoverers (accusers) of them  
 ducerentur meo jussu per forum in ædem  
 might-be-led by my order through the forum into the temple  
 Concordiæ, eo tempore ipso signum  
 of Concord, in that time itself the sign (statue)  
 statueretur? Quo collocato atque converso ad  
 might-be-erected? Which being-placed and being-turned to  
 vos que senatum, et senatus et vos vidistis omnia  
 you and the senate, both the senate and you saw all  
 quæ cogitata erant contra salutem omnium,  
 (things) which had-been-devised against the safety of all,  
 illustrata et patefacta. Quo isti  
 brought-to-light and exposed. By which (for which reason) those  
 sunt digni etiam majore odio que supplicio,  
 (persons) are worthy even with greater hatred and punishment,  
 qui conati sunt inferre funestos ac nefarios  
 who have-endeavoured to bring-on fatal and nefarious  
 ignes non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed  
 fires not only to your abodes and to your roofs, but  
 etiam templis atque delubris Deorum. Quibus  
 also to the temples and to the shrines of the Gods. To whom  
 si ego dicam me restitisse, sumam nimium  
 if I may-say myself to have-resisted, I shall-take too-much  
 mihi, et sim non ferendus. Ille, ille Jupiter  
 to myself, and may-be not to be borne. That, that Jupiter  
 restitit: ille voluit Capitolium, ille hæc templa, ille  
 resisted: he wished the Capitol, he these temples, he  
 hanc urbem, ille vos omnes esse salvos. Ego  
 this city, he (wished) you all to be safe. I  
 suscepi hanc mentem que voluntatem, Quirites,  
 have-taken-up this mind and wish, Romans,

immortalibus Diis ducibus, atque perveni ad  
 the immortal Gods (being) leaders, and I have arrived to  
 hæc tanta indicia. Vero jam illa sollicitatio  
 these so-great discoveries. But now that solicitation  
 Allobrogum, tanta res, numquam credita (esset)  
 of the Allobroges, so-great a thing, never would-have-been-trusted  
 sic a Lentulo que ceteris domesticis hostibus, tam  
 thus by Lentulus and by the other domestic enemies, so  
 dementer et ignotis et barbaris,  
 madly both to unknown and to barbarous (foreign persons),  
 que litteræ profecto numquam commissæ essent,  
 and the letters indeed never would-have-been-entrusted,  
 nisi consilium ereptum esset huic  
 unless counsel (discretion) might-have-been-snatched-away from this  
 tantæ audaciæ a immortalibus Diis. Vero quid?  
 so-great audacity by the immortal Gods. But what  
 ut homines Galli, ex civitate  
 (why shall I mention)? that men Gauls, out-of a state  
 male pacatâ, quæ una gens restat, quæ videatur  
 ill appeased, which one (only) nation remains, which may-seem  
 et posse et non nolle facere bellum Romano  
 both to be-able and not to be-unwilling to make war to the Roman  
 populo, negligerent spem imperii et amplissimarum  
 people, should-neglect the hope of empire and of the most-ample  
 rerum ultro oblatam sibi a patriciis hominibus,  
 things willingly offered to themselves by patrician men,  
 que anteponerent vestram salutem suis opibus:  
 and should-prefer your safety to their-own powers:  
 putatis id non factum esse divinitus? præsertim  
 do you-think that not to have-been-done divinely? especially  
 qui superarent nos non pugnando, sed tacendo.  
 who might-overcome us not by fighting, but by keeping-silence.

10. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam supplicatio  
 Wherefore, Romans, since a thanksgiving

decreta est ad omnia pulvinaria, celebratote  
 has been-decreed to (at) all the cushions (temples), celebrate

illos dies cum vestris conjugibus ac liberis. Nam  
 those days with your wives and children For

sæpe multi justi honores habiti sunt ac debiti  
 often many just honours have-been-held and due  
 immortalibus Diis, sed profecto numquam justiores.  
 to the immortal Gods, but indeed never more-just

Enim erepti ex crudelissimo ac  
 (than these). For being-snatched out-of the most-cruel and  
 miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine cæde,  
 most-wretched destruction, and being-snatched without slaughter,  
 sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione,  
 without blood, without an army, without fighting,

togati vicistis, me uno  
 (you) wearing-the-toga have-conquered, me one (person)

togato duce et imperatore. Etenim  
 wearing-the-toga (being) leader and commander. For

recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones,  
 you-recollect, Romans, all the civil disagreements,

neque solum eas, quas audistis, sed et  
 nor (and not) only those, which you have-heard, but and (also)

has, quas vosmetipsi meministis et vidistis.  
 these, which you-yourself have-remembered and have-seen.

L. Sulla oppressit P. Sulpicium: eiecit ex  
 L. Sulla oppressed (destroyed) P. Sulpicius: he cast-out out-of

urbe C. Marium, custodem hujus urbis, que partim  
 the city C. Marius, the keeper of this city, and partly

eiecit ex civitate, partim interemit multos fortes  
 cast-out out-of the state, partly slew many bold

viros. Cn. Octavius, consul, expulit suum collegam  
 men. Cn. Octavius, the consul, expelled his colleague

ex urbe armis: omnis hic locus redundavit  
 out-of the city by arms: all this place has-overflowed

acervis corporum et sanguine civium.  
 (abounded) with heaps of bodies and with the blood of citizens.

Postea Cinna cum Mario superavit:  
 Afterwards Cinna with Marius overcame (got the upper hand):

vero tum, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina  
 but then, the most-famous men being-slain, the lights

civitatis extincta sunt. Postea Sulla ultus est  
 of the state were-extinguished. Afterwards Sulla revenged

crudelitatem hujus victoriæ: neque est quidem  
the cruelty of this victory: nor is-it indeed

opus dici, quantâ diminutione civium,  
necessary to be-said, with how-great diminution of citizens,

et quantâ calamitate reipublicæ. M. Lepidus  
and with how-great calamity of the republic. M. Lepidus

dissensit a clarissimo et fortissimo viro,  
dissented from the most-famous and most-brave man,

Q. Catulo: interitus ipsius attulit non luctum  
Q. Catulus: the destruction of himself brought not grief

reipublicæ tam, quam ceterorum.  
to the republic so (so much), as (did the destruction) of the rest.

Atque tamen omnes illæ dissensiones erant  
And however all those disagreements were

hujusmodi, Quirites, quæ pertinerent non ad  
of this-sort, Romans, which might-pertain not to

republicam delendam, sed ad  
the republic to be-destroyed, but to (the republic)

commutandam: illi voluerunt non nullam rempublicam  
to be-changed: they wished not no republic

esse, sed se esse principes in eâ quæ  
to be, but (they wished) themselves to be chiefs in that which

esset: neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed  
might-be: nor (did they wish) this city to be-on-fire, but

se florere in hac urbe. Atque tamen omnes  
themselves to flourish in this city. And yet all

illæ dissensiones, nulla quarum quæsit exitium  
those disagreements, no-one of which sought the destruction

reipublicæ, fuerunt ejusmodi, ut dijudicatæ sint  
of the republic, were of that-sort, that they may have-been-settled

non reconciliatione concordiæ, sed internecione  
not by a reconciliation of concord, but by the slaughter

civium. Autem in hoc maximo que crudelissimo  
of citizens. But in this greatest and most-cruel

bello unc post memoriam hominum, bellum quale  
war alone after (since) the memory of men, a war like-as

nulla barbaria umquam gessit cum suâ gente,  
no barbarous-country ever carried-on with its nation,



in quo bello hæc lex fuit constituta a Lentulo,  
 in which war this law was appointed by Lentulus,  
 Catilinâ, Cassio, Cethego, ut omnes, qui possent  
 Catiline, Cassius, Cethegus, that all, who might be-able  
 esse salvi, urbe salvâ, hi ducerentur  
 to be safe, the city (being) safe, these should-be-led (seemed)  
 in numero hostium; gessi me ita,  
 in the number of the enemies; I have-borne (conducted) myself so,  
 Quirites, ut conservaremini omnes salvi; et  
 Romans, that you might-be-preserved all safe; and  
 cum vestri hostes putassent tantum civium  
 when your enemies might-have-thought so-much of citizens  
 superfuturum, quantum restitisset infinitæ  
 about-to-survive, as might-have-remained from infinite  
 cædi, autem tantum urbis, quantum flamma  
 slaughter, (and) but so-much of the city, as the flame  
 potuisset non obire: servavi et urbem  
 might-have-been-able not to-go-over: I have-kept both the city  
 et cives integros que incolumes.  
 and the citizens entire and safe.

11. Pro quibus tantis rebus, Quirites, ego postulo  
 For which so-great things, Romans, I require  
 nullum præmium virtutis a vobis, nullum insigne  
 no reward of virtue from you, no mark  
 honoris, nullum monumentum laudis, præterquam  
 of honour, no monument of praise, except  
 sempiternam memoriam hujus diei. Ego volo omnes  
 the eternal memory of this day. I wish all  
 meos triumphos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta  
 my triumphs, all ornaments of honour, monuments  
 gloriæ, insignia laudis condi et collocari  
 of glory, marks of praise to be-hid (treasured) and to be-placed  
 in vestris animis. Nihil mutum potest delectare  
 in your minds. Nothing dumb is-able to delight  
 me, nihil tacitum, denique, nihil hujusmodi, quod  
 me, nothing silent, finally, nothing of this-sort, which  
 etiam minus digni possint assequi.  
 even less worthy (persons) may be-able to attain.

Nostræ res, Quirites, alentur vestra  
 Our things (affairs), Romans, shall-be-cherished in your  
 memoriâ, crescent sermonibus, inveterascent et  
 memory, shall-increase in discourses, shall grow-old and  
 corroborabuntur monumentis literarum; que  
 shall be-strengthened in the monuments of letters; and  
 intelligo eandem diem, quam spero  
 I understand (feel convinced) this same day, which I hope  
 fore æternam, propagatam et ad salutem  
 to be-about-to-be eternal, propagated both to the safety  
 urbis, et ad memoriam mei consulatus; que  
 of the city, and to the memory of my consulship; and  
 uno tempore duos cives exitisse in hâc  
 at one time two citizens to have-existed in this  
 republicâ, alter quorum terminaret fines  
 republic, the other (one) of whom should bound the limits  
 vestri imperii non regionibus terræ, sed  
 of your empire not by the regions of the earth, but  
 cœli; alter servaret domicilium que sedem  
 of heaven; the other should-preserve the-abode and seat  
 ejusdem imperii.  
 of the same empire.

12. Sed, quoniam fortuna atque conditio earum  
 But, since the fortune and condition of those  
 rerum quas ego gessi, est non eadem, quæ  
 things which I have-carried-on is not the same, which  
 illorum qui gesserunt externa bella; quod  
 (that is) of those who have-carried-on foreign wars; because  
 sit vivendum mihi cum his quos  
 it may-be to be-lived to me (I must live) with those whom  
 vici ac subegi; isti reliquerunt  
 I have-conquered and have subdued; those have-left (their)  
 hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos: est vestrum,  
 enemies either slain or oppressed: it-is your  
 Quirites, providere, si sua facta prosunt  
 (duty), Romans, to provide, if their deeds profit  
 ceteris, ne mea quando obsint mihi. Enim  
 to others, lest mine at-any-time may-injure to me. For

ego providi ne sceleratæ ac nefariæ  
I have-provided lest the wicked and nefarious

mentes audacissimorum hominum possent  
minds (intentions) of the most-daring men might be-able

nocere vobis; est vestrum providere ne noceant  
to hurt to you; it-is your (duty) to provide lest they may-hurt

mihi. Quamquam, Quirites, potest noceri  
to me. Although, Romans, it is-able to be-hurt

mihi ipsi nihil quidem jam ab istis.  
to myself nothing (not at all) indeed now by those.

Enim est magnum  
(These persons can do me no injury.) For there-is a great

præsidium in bonis, quod est comparatum  
guard (protection) in good (men), which is provided

mihi in perpetuum: magna dignitas in  
to me unto perpetual (time): great dignity in

republicâ, quæ tacita semper defendet me:  
the republic, which silent always will defend me:

magna est vis conscientiæ, quam qui  
great is the force of consciousness, which (those) who

negligent, cum volent violare me, ipsi  
shall-neglect, when they shall-wish to do-violence-to me, themselves

indicabunt se. Etiam is  
will-discover themselves (will expose themselves). Also that

animus est in nobis, Quirites, ut non modo  
mind is in us (me), Romans, that not only

cedamus audaciæ nullius, sed etiam  
we may-yield to the audacity of no (person), but also

laccessamus semper ultro omnes improbos.  
we may-assail always willingly all the dishonest.

Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium  
But-if every attack of domestic enemies

depulsus a vobis, convertit se in me unum:  
driven-off from you, turns itself upon me one

erit providendum vobis, Quirites,  
(alone): it will-be to be-provided to you (by you), Romans,

quâ conditione posthac velitis eos esse qui  
in what condition hereafter you may wish those to be who

obtulerint se invidiæ que omnibus periculis  
may-have-offered themselves to envy and to all dangers

pro vestrâ salute. Quid quidem est quod possit  
for your safety. What indeed is-there which may-be-able

jam acquiri mihi ipsi ad fructum  
now to be-acquired for myself to (for) the fruit (enjoyment)

vitæ, præsertim cum videam neque quidquam  
of life, especially when I may-see neither any (thing)

altius in vestro honore, neque in gloriâ virtutis,  
higher in your honour, nor in the glory of virtue,

quo quidem libeat mihi adscendere?  
whither indeed it may-be-pleasing to me to ascend?

Perficiam illud profecto, Quirites, ut  
I will-complete this indeed, Romans, that (being)

privatus tuear atque ornem ea  
a private (person) I may-defend and I may-adorn those

quæ gessi in consulatu: ut, si qua  
(things) which I carried-on in (my) consulship: that, if any

invidia suscepta est in republicâ conservandâ,  
envy has-been-taken-up in the republic to be-preserved

lædat invidios, valeat  
(in preserving the republic), it may-hurt the envious, it may-avail

mihi ad gloriam. Denique, tractabo  
to me to glory. Finally, I will-handle (conduct)

me ita in republicâ, ut meminerim  
myself so in the republic, that I may-have-remembered

semper quæ gesserim, que  
(may remember) always what (things) I may-have-carried-on, and

curem ut ea videantur gesta esse  
I may take-care that these (things) may-seem to have-been-carried-on

virtute non casu. Vos, Quirites, quoniam est  
by virtue not by accident. You, Romans, since it-is

jam nox, veneramini illum Jovem, custodem hujus  
now night, worship that Jupiter, the keeper of this

urbis ac vestrûm, atque discedite in vestra tecta:  
city and of you, and depart into your roofs

et. quamquam periculum est jam depulsum,  
(houses): and, although danger is now driven-away,



tamen	defendite	ea,	æque	ac	priori
ye,	defend	them,	equally	and (as)	on the former
nocte,	custodiis	que	vigiliis.		Providebo,
night,	with guards	and	with watches.		I will-provide,
Quirites,	ne id sit				faciendum
Romans,	lest that may-be	(that that may not be)			to be-done
diutius vobis,	atque ut	possitis	esse in		
longer to you (by you),	and that	you may-be-able	to be in		
perpetuâ	pace.				
perpetual	peace.				

QUARTA ORATIO  
*THE FOURTH ORATION*  
 HABITA IN SENATU.  
*HELD IN THE SENATE.*



1. CONSCRIPTI patres, video ora atque  
 Conscript fathers, I see the countenances and  
 oculos vestrum omnium esse conversos in me:  
 the eyes of you all to be turned unto me:  
 video vos esse sollicitos non solum de vestro  
 I see you to be solicitous not only concerning your  
 periculo ac reipublicæ, verum etiam, si id  
 danger and (that) of the republic, but also, if that  
 depulsum sit, de meo periculo. Vestra  
 may-have-been-driven-off, concerning my danger. Your  
 voluntas erga me est jucunda mihi in malis,  
 good-will towards me is pleasant to me in evils (dangers),  
 et grata in dolore: sed, quæso per immortales  
 and grateful in grief: but, I pray by the immortal  
 deos, deponite eam, atque obliti meæ  
 gods, put-down (lay aside) it, and having-forgotten of my  
 salutis, cogitate de vobis ac de vestris  
 safety, think concerning yourselves and concerning your  
 liberis. Si hæc conditio quidem consulatus  
 children. If this condition indeed of the consulship  
 data est mihi, ut perferrem omnes acerbitates,  
 has-been-given to me, that I should-bear all bitternesses,  
 omnes dolores que cruciatus, feram non  
 all griefs and torments, I will-bear (them) not  
 solum fortiter, sed etiam libenter, dummodo dignitas  
 only boldly, but even willingly, provided-that dignity

que salus pariat<sup>ur</sup> meis laboribus vobis que  
 and safety may-be-produced by my labours to you and  
 Romano populo. Ego sum ille consul, conscripti  
 to the Roman people. I am that consul, conscript  
 patres, cui non forum, in quo omnis æquitas  
 fathers, to whom not the forum, in which all equity  
 continetur; non campus, consecratus  
 is-contained; not the plain (Campus Martius), consecrated  
 consularibus auspiciis; non curia, summum  
 to consular auspices; not the council-house, the highest  
 auxilium omnium gentium; non domus, commune  
 aid of all nations; not (my) house, the common  
 perfugium; non lectus, datus ad quietem;  
 refuge; not (my) bed, given to (for) rest;  
 denique, non hæc sedes honoris fuit umquam vacua  
 finally, not this seat of honour has-been ever free  
 periculo mortis atque insidiis. Ego tacui  
 from danger of death and from snares. I have-kept-silent  
 multa, pertuli multa, concessi multa,  
 many (things), I have-borne many (things), I have-yielded many  
 sanavi multa quodam meo dolore,  
 (things), I have-cured many (things) with some my-own grief  
 in vestro timore. Nunc, si  
 (with some pain to myself), in (amid) your fear. Now, if  
 immortales dii voluerunt hunc esse exitum mei  
 the immortal gods have-wished this to be the issue of my  
 consulatus, ut eriperem vos, conscripti.  
 consulship, that I might-snatch-out (rescue) you, conscript  
 patres, que Romanum populum ex miserâ cæde,  
 fathers, and the Roman people out-of wretched slaughter,  
 conjuges, que vestros liberos, que vestales  
 (your) wives, and your children, and the vestal  
 virgines ex acerbissimâ vexatione; templa atque  
 virgins out-of the most-bitter vexation; the temples and  
 delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam nostrum omnium  
 shrines, this most-beautiful country of us all  
 ex fœdissimâ flammâ; totam Italiam ex bello  
 out-of the foulest flame; the whole Italy out-of war

et vastitate: quæcunque fortuna proponetur mihi  
 and devastation: whatever fortune shall be-proposed to me  
 uni, subeatur. Etenim si P. Lentulus, inductus  
 alone, may be-undergone. For if P. Lentulus, induced  
 a vatibus, putavit suum nomen fore fatale  
 by prophets, thought his name to be-about-to-be ordained-by-fate  
 ad perniciem reipublicæ, cur ego læter non  
 to the destruction of the republic, why may-I-rejoice not  
 meum consulatum extitisse prope fatalem ad  
 my consulship to have-existed almost ordained-by-fate to  
 salutem reipublicæ?  
 the safety of the republic?

2. Quare, conscripti patres, consulite vobis  
 Wherefore, conscript fathers, consult for yourselves  
 prospicite patriæ, conservate vos, conjuges,  
 look to your country, preserve yourselves, wives,  
 liberos, que vestras fortunas, defendite nomen que  
 children, and your fortunes, defend the name and  
 salutem Romani populi: desinite parcere mihi, ac  
 safety of the Roman people: cease to spare to me, and  
 cogitare de me. Nam primum debeo sperare  
 to think concerning me. For first I ought to hope  
 omnes deos, qui præsident huic urbi, esse  
 all the gods, who preside-over to this city, to be  
 relatueros gratiam mihi pro eo ac mereor:  
 about-to-return the favour to me according-to that as I deserve:  
 deinde si quid obtigerit, moriar  
 then (in the next place) if any (thing) shall-have-befallen, I shall-die  
 æquo que parato animo. Enim neque turpis mors  
 with an equal and prepared mind. For neither a base death  
 potest accidere forti viro, neque immatura  
 is-able to happen to a brave man, nor an immature (death)  
 consulari, nec misera sapienti. Nec  
 to a consular (man), nor a wretched (death) to a wise (man). Nor  
 tamen sum ego ille ferreus, qui movear non  
 yet am I that iron (person), who may-be-moved not  
 mœrore carissimi atque amantissimi fratris  
 by the sorrow of (my) dearest and most-loving brother



præsentis, que lacrymis omnium horum, a quibus  
 being-present, and by the tears of all these, by whom  
 videtis me circumsessum. Neque exanimata uxor  
 you see me surrounded. Neither (my) fainting wife  
 revocat non sæpe meam mentem domum, filia  
 calls-back not often my mind home, (and) daughter  
 abjecta metu, et parvulus filius, quem respublica  
 cast-down with fear, and (my) very-little son, whom the republic  
 videtur mihi amplecti tamquam obsidem mei  
 seems to me to embrace as-if a hostage (pledge) of my  
 consulatus: neque ille gener, qui exspectans  
 consulship: nor that son-in-law, who awaiting  
 exitum hujus diei, adstat in meo conspectu.  
 the issue of this day, stands-near in my sight.  
 Moveor omnibus his rebus, sed in eam partem,  
 I am-moved by all these things, but unto that part,  
 ut sint omnes salvi vobiscum, etiamsi aliqua  
 that they may-be all safe with you, even-if some  
 vis oppresserit me, potius quam et illi  
 violence may-have-oppressed me, rather than both they  
 et nos pereamus una cum republicâ. Quare,  
 and we may-perish together with the republic. Wherefore,  
 conscripti patres, incumbite ad salutem reipublicæ:  
 conscript fathers, apply to the safety of the republic:  
 circumspicite omnes procellas, quæ impendent,  
 look-around-upon all the storms, which hang-over (threaten),  
 nisi providetis. Non Tib. Gracchus, qui voluit  
 unless you provide. Not Tib. Gracchus, who wished  
 fieri iterum tribunus plebis: non C. Gracchus,  
 to be-made again tribune of the people: not C. Gracchus,  
 qui conatus est concitare agrarios: non L. Saturninus,  
 who endeavoured to excite the agrarians: not L. Saturninus,  
 qui occidit C. Memmium, adducitur in aliquod  
 who slew C. Memmius, is-brought into some  
 discrimen, atque in iudicium vestræ  
 distinction (controversy), and into the judgment of your  
 severitatis. Ii tenentur, qui restiterunt Romæ,  
 severity. Those are-held, who have-remained at Rome,

ad incendium urbis, ad vestram cædem  
 to (for) the conflagration of the city, to your slaughter  
 omnium, ad Catilinam accipiendum:  
 of all (for the slaughter of you all), to (for) Catiline to be-received:  
 litteræ, signa, manus, denique confessio  
 the letters, seals, hand, finally the confession  
 uniuscujusque tenentur; Allobroges sollicitantur;  
 of each are-held; the Allobroges are-solicited;  
 servitia excitantur; Catilina arcessitur; id consilium  
 the slaves are-excited; Catiline is-sent-for; that counsel  
 initum est, ut, omnibus interfectis, nemo  
 has-been-entered-into, that, all being-slain, no-one  
 relinquatur ne quidem ad nomen reipublicæ  
 may-be-left not-even to (for) the name of the republic  
 deplorandum, atque ad calamitatem tanti  
 to be-deplored, and to (for) the calamity of so-great  
 imperii lamentandam.  
 an empire to be-lamented.

3. Indices detulerunt omnia hæc,  
 The informers have-brought (reported) all these (things),  
 rei confessi sunt; vos jam judicastis  
 the accused have-confessed (them); you already have-judged  
 multis judiciis: primum, quod egistis  
 (them) by many judgments: first, because you acted  
 gratias mihi singularibus verbis:  
 (have given) thanks to me in singular words (in extraordinary  
 et decrevistis conjurationem reus-ditorum  
 terms): and you decreed (decided) a conspira-  
 hominum patefactam esse meâ virtute atque  
 (abandoned) men to have-been-exposed by my virtue and  
 diligentia: deinde quod coëgistis P. Lentulum, ut  
 diligence: then because you-forced P. Lentulus, that  
 abdicaret se præturâ: tum quod  
 he should-abdicate himself from the prætorship: then because  
 censuistis eum, et ceteros, de quibus judicastis,  
 you voted him, and the others, concerning whom you judged,  
 dandos in custodiam: que maxime quod  
 to be-given into custody: and mostly (especially) because

decrevistis supplicationem meo nomine, qui honos  
you decreed a thanksgiving in my name, which honour

habitus est nemini togato ante me: postremo  
has-been-held to no-one wearing-the-toga before me: lastly,

hesterno die dedistis amplissima præmia legatis  
on yesterday you gave most ample rewards to the ambassadors

Allobrogum, que Tito Vultureio. Omnia quæ  
of the Allobroges, and to Titus Vultureius. All which

sunt ejusmodi, ut ii, qui dati sunt  
(things) are of this-sort, that those, who have-been-given

nominatim in custodiam, videantur sine ullâ  
by-name into custody, may-seem without any

dubitatione damnati esse a vobis. Sed ego  
doubt to have-been-condemned by you. But I

institui referre ad vos, conscripti patres,  
have-determined to refer to you, conscript fathers,

tamquam integrum, et quid judicetis  
as-if an entire (a new matter), both what you may-judge

de facto, et quid censeatis de  
concerning the deed, and what you may-vote concerning

poenâ; prædicam illa, quæ sunt  
the punishment; I will-previously-say those (things), which are

consulis. Ego videbam jampridem magnum  
(the business) of a consul. I did see long-since great

furorem versari in republicâ, et  
madness to be-engaged (to be prevalent) in the republic, and

quædam nova mala misceri et concitari: sed  
some new evils to be-mingled and to be-excited: but

nunquam putavi hanc tantam, tam exitiosam  
never I thought this so-great, so destructive

conjuratorem haberi a civibus. Nunc, quidquid  
conspiracy to be-held by citizens. Now, whatever

est, quocunque vestræ mentes atque sententiæ  
it-is, whither-soever your minds and opinions

inclinant, est statuendum vobis ante noctem.  
Incline, it-is to be-determined to you (by you) before night,

Videtis quantum facinus delatum sit  
You see how-great a daring-deed may have-been-brought (reported)

**ad vos: si putatis paucos esse affines huic,**  
**to you: if you think few to be bordering (accessary) to this,**  
**erratis vehementer. Hoc malum disseminatum est**  
**you err violently. This evil has-been disseminated**  
**latius opinione: manavit nor**  
**more-widely than opinion (than is supposed): it has-flowed not**  
**solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes,**  
**only through Italy, but even has-passed-over the Alps,**  
**et serpens obscure, jam occupavit multas**  
**and creeping obscurely, already has-occupied many**  
**provincias.] Id nullo pacto potest opprimi**  
**provinces. That by no agreement (means) is-able to be-oppressed**  
**sustentando ac prolatando. Quâcunque ratione**  
**by supporting and by deferring. In whatever reason**  
**placet, est vindicandum vobis celeritir.**  
**(manner) it pleases, it-is to be-punished to you (by you) quickly.**

#### 4. Video duas sententias esse adhuc;

**I see two opinions to be hitherto (that there are**  
**unam D. Silani, qui censet, eos**  
**hitherto two opinions); one of D. Silanus, who votes, those**  
**qui conati sunt delere hæc esse multandos**  
**who have-endeavoured to destroy these (things) to be to be-fined**  
**morte: alteram C. Cæsaris, qui removet**  
**(punished) with death: the other of C. Cæsar, who removes**  
**pœnam mortis, amplectitur omnes acerbitates**  
**the penalty of death, embraces all the bitterness**  
**ceterorum suppliciorum. Uterque versatur in summâ**  
**of other punishments. Each is-engaged in the highest**  
**severitate et pro suâ dignitate, et pro**  
**severity both for (according to) his-own dignity, and for**  
**magnitudine rerum. Alter putat oportere**  
**the greatness of things. The other (the one) thinks (it) to behave**  
**non eos qui conati sunt privare nos omnes,**  
**not those who have-endeavoured to deprive us all,**  
**qui Romanum populum vitâ**  
**who (have endeavoured to deprive) the Roman people with life**  
**qui deler: imperium, qui**  
**(of life), who (have attempted) to destroy the empire, who**



exstinguere nomen Romani populi, frui vitâ,  
to extinguish the name of the Roman people, to enjoy with life,

et hoc communi spiritu  
and with this common breath (the air breathed by us all)

punctum temporis: atque recordatur hoc genus  
a point of time (a moment): and calls-to-mind this kind

pœnæ usurpatum esse sæpe in hac republicâ  
of punishment to have-been-used often in this republic

in improbos cives. Alter intelligit mortem non  
against dishonest citizens. The other understands death not

constitutam esse a immortalibus diis causâ  
to have-been-appointed by the immortal gods for-the-sake

supplicii, sed esse aut necessitatem naturæ, aut  
of punishment, but to be either a necessity of nature, or

quietem laborum ac miseriarum. Itaque sapientes  
a rest of labours and of miseries. Therefore wise (men)

numquam inviti, fortes etiam sæpe libenter  
never unwillingly, the bold even often willingly

oppetiverunt eam. Vero vincula, et ea sempiterna,  
have-undergone it. But bonds, and those eternal

certe inventa sunt ad singularem  
(for life), certainly have-been-invented to (for) the singular

pœnam nefarii sceleris. Jubet dispertiri  
punishment of nefarious crime. He orders (them) to be-distributed

municipiis. Ista res videtur habere  
to the municipal-towns. That thing seems to have

iniquitatem, si velis imperare; difficultatem,  
injustice, if thou-mayest-wish to command (it); difficulty,

si rogare: tamen decernatur, si placet.  
if to ask (it): yet let-it-be-decreed, if it pleases (you).

Enim ego suscipiam, et, ut spero,  
For I will-take-up (will take upon myself), and, as I hope,

reperiam, qui putent esse non suæ  
will-find (those), who may think (it) to be not (the part) of their

dignitatis recusare id, quod statueritis  
dignity to refuse that, which you shall-have-appointed

causâ salutis omnium. Adjungit gravem  
for-the-sake of the safety of all. He adjoins a heavy

prænam municipibus, si quis  
punishment to the inhabitants of the municipal towns, if any-one

eorum                      ruperit        vincula :  
of them (the conspirators) shall-have-broken    the bonds (escaped):

circumdat horribiles custodias, et sancit  
he places-around dreadful guards, and sanctions (things)

digna scelere perditorum hominum, ne quis  
worthy with the crime of lost (abandoned) men, lest any-one

possit levare poenam eorum, quos condemnat,  
may-be-able to lighten the punishment of those, whom he condemns,

aut per senatum, aut per populum. | Etiam  
either through the senate, or through the people. Also (even)

eripit spem, quæ sola solet consolari  
he snatches-away hope, which alone is-accustomed to console

hominem in miseriis. Præterea, jubet bona  
a man in miseries. Besides, he orders (their) goods

publicari:      relinquit      vitam      solam      nefariis  
to be-confiscated:      he leaves      life      alone      to the nefarious

hominibus :        quam        si                        eripuisset,  
men :                which        if                        he might-have-snatched-away,

ademisset      multas      poenas      animi      atque  
he would-have taken-away      many      punishments      of mind      and

corporis, et omnes scelerum, uno dolore.  
of body, and all (the punishments) of crimes, by one pain.

Itaque, ut aliqua formido esset posita improbis  
Therefore, that some dread might-be placed to the dishonest

in vitâ, illi antiqui voluerunt quædam supplicia  
in life, those ancients wished some punishments

ejusmodi      esse      constituta      impiis      apud  
of that-sort      to be      appointed      to the impious      with (among)

inferos : videlicet, quod intelligebant,  
the shades-below : that-is-to-say, because they did-understand,

his remotis, mortem ipsam non esse pertimescendam.  
these being-removed, death itself not to be to be-feared.

5. Nunc, conscripti patres, ego video quid intersit  
Now, conscript fathers, I see what it may-interest

meâ. Si secuti eritis  
with mine (how much it may be to my interest). If you shall have followed

sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam is secutus est hanc  
 the opinion of C. Cæsar, since he has-followed this

viam in republicâ, quæ habetur popularis,  
 way in the republic, which is-held (is accounted) the popular

fortasse populares impetus erunt minus  
 (way), perhaps popular attacks will-be less

pertimescendi mihi, hoc auctore et  
 to be-feared to me (by me), this (person being) the author and

cognitore hujusce sententiæ. Sin illam  
 acknowledge of this opinion. But-if (you follow) that

alteram, nescio an amplius negotii  
 other, I know-not whether more of business (trouble)

contrahatur mihi. Sed tamen utilitas reipublicæ  
 may be-contracted for me. But yet the advantage of the republic

vincat rationes meorum periculorum.  
 let (it) conquer the reasons (calculations) of my dangers.

Enim habemus a C. Cæsare, sicut dignitas ipsius  
 For we have from C. Cæsar, as the dignity of himself

et amplitudo majorum ejus postulabat,  
 and the greatness (nobility) of the ancestors of him did-require,

sententiam, tanquam obsidem perpetuæ  
 an opinion, as-if an hostage (pledge) of (his) perpetual

voluntatis in rempublicam. Intellectum est, quid  
 good-will unto the republic. It has-been-understood, what

intersit inter levitatem concionatorum et  
 may be-the-difference between the levity of public-speakers and

animum vere popularem, consulentem saluti  
 a mind truly popular, consulting for the safety

populi. Video non neminem de istis qui  
 of the people. I see not no-one (some one) from those who

volunt se haberi populares, abesse,  
 wish themselves to be-held (to be accounted) popular, to be-absent,

videlicet, ne ferat sententiam de capite  
 that-is-to-say, lest he may-bear an opinion concerning the head (life)

Romanorum civium. Is, nudiustertius, et  
 of Roman citizens. He, the-day-before-yesterday, both

dedit Romanos cives in custodiam, et decrevit  
 gave Roman citizens into custody, and decreed

mihi supplicationem, et hesterno die affecit indices  
to me a thanksgiving, and on-yesterday affected the informers

maximis præmiis. Jam hoc est dubium nemini,  
with the greatest rewards. Now this is doubtful to no-one,

quid judicarit de totâ re et causâ,  
what he may-have-judged concerning the whole thing and cause,

qui decrevit custodiam reo, gratulationem  
who has-decreed custody to the accused, congratulation

quæsitore, præmium indici. At, vero, C. Cæsar  
to the inquirer, reward to the informer. But, truly, C. Cæsar

intelligit Semproniam legem constitutam esse  
understands the Sempronian law to have-been-appointed

de Romanis civibus; autem qui sit hostis  
concerning Roman citizens; but who may-be an enemy

reipublicæ, eum posse nullo modo esse civem:  
of the republic, him to be-able in no manner to be a citizen:

denique, latorem ipsum Sempronix legis,  
finally, the bearer (maker) himself of the Sempronian law,

dependisse pœnas reipublicæ jussu populi.  
to have-paid penalties to the republic by-the-order of the people.

Idem putat largitorem et prodigum Lentulum  
The same (person) thinks the briber and prodigal Lentulus

non posse appellari popularem, cum  
not to be-able to be-called belonging-to-the-people, since

cogitarit tam acerbe que tam crudeliter  
he may-have-devised so bitterly and so cruelly

de perniciæ Romani populi, exitio  
concerning the destruction of the Roman people, the ruin

hujus urbis. Itaque, mitissimus atque lenissimus  
of this city. Therefore, the most-mild and most-gentle

homo dubitat non mandare P. Lentulum  
man (Cæsar) doubts (hesitates) not to commit P. Lentulus

æternis tenebris que vinculis; et sancit in posterum,  
eternal darkness and to bonds; and sanctions unto after (time),

ne quis possit jactare se  
lest any (person) may-be-able to toss himself (to be officious)

supplicio hujus levando,  
in the punishment of him to be lightened (in lightening his punishment).



et posthac esse popularis in perniciē Roman  
 ant hereafter to be popular in the destruction of the Roman  
 populi. Etiam adjungit publicationem bonorum, ut  
 people. Also he adjoins confiscation of goods, that  
 etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur omnes  
 even want and beggary may-follow all  
 cruciatus animi et corporis.  
 torments of mind and of body.

6. Quamobrem, sive statueritis hoc,  
 Wherefore, whether you shall-have-appointed this,  
 dederitis mihi comitem ad concionem  
 you will-have-given to me a companion (Cæsar) to the public-assembly  
 carum atque jucundum populo; sive  
 dear and acceptable to-the-people; or-if  
 maueritis sequi sententiam Silani,  
 you shall-have-wished-rather to follow the opinion of Silanus,  
 defendetis facile me atque vos a vituperatione  
 you will-defend easily me and yourselves from the blame  
 crudelitatis, atque obtinebo eam fuisse  
 of cruelty, and I shall-obtain (maintain) it to have-been  
 multo levioris. Quamquam, conscripti patres, quæ  
 by much lighter. Although, conscript fathers, what  
 crudelitas potest esse in immanitate tanti  
 cruelty is-able to-be in the outrageousness of so-great  
 sceleris puniendæ. Enim ego judico de meo  
 a crime to be-punished. For I judge from my-own  
 sensu. Nam ita habet mihi perfrui vobiscum  
 feeling. For thus it may-be allowed to me to enjoy with you  
 salvâ republicâ, ut ego quod sum vehementior in  
 a safe republic, that I, because I am more-vehement in  
 hac causâ, moveor non atrocitate animi, (enim quis  
 this cause, am-moved not by cruelty of mind, (for who  
 est mitior me?) sed quâdam singulari humanitate  
 is milder than I?) but by some singular humanity  
 et misericordiâ. Enim video mihi videre hanc  
 and mercy. For I seem to myself to see this  
 urbem, lucem orbis terrarum, atque arcem  
 city, the light of the globe of the empires, and the citadel

**omnium** gentium, subito concidentem uno incendio;  
 of all nations, suddenly falling by one conflagration;

**cerno** animo miseros atque insepultos acervos  
 I discern in (my) mind wretched and unburi'd heap:

**civium** in sepultâ patriâ; **aspectus** et furor  
 of citizens in (my) buried country; the appearance and fury

**Cethegi** bacchantis in vestrâ cæde versatur  
 of Cethegus revelling in your slaughter is-engaged (revolved)

**ante oculos mihi.** ] **Vero** cum proposui  
 before the eyes to me. But when I have-proposed (represented)

**mihi** **Lentulum** regnantem, sicut ipse confessus est  
 to myself Lentulus ruling, as himself confessed

**se sperasse** ex **fatis**, **hunc** **Gabinium**  
 himself to have-hoped out-of (according-to) the fates, this Gabinius

**esse purpuratum**, **Catilinam** venisse cum exercitu,  
 to be clothed-in-purple, Catiline to have-come with (his) army,

**tum** perhorresco lamentationem matrumfamilias; **tum**  
 then I dread the lamentation of mothers-of-families; then

**fugam** virginum atque puerorum, ac vexationem  
 the flight of virgins and of boys, and the harassing

**vestalium** virginum; et quia hæc videntur  
 of vestal virgins; and because these (things) seem

**mihi** vehementer misera atque miseranda, idcirco  
 to me violently wretched and to be-pitied, on-that-account

**præbeo** me severum que vehementem in  
 I aff.rd (I show) myself severe and violent against

**eos** qui voluerunt perficere ea. **Etenim** quæro  
 those who have-wished to perform them. For I seek (ask)

**si** quis paterfamilias, suis liberis interfectis a servo,  
 if any father-of-a-family, his children being-slain by a slave,

**uxore** occisâ, **domo** incensâ, **sumserit**  
 (his) wife being-killed, (his) house being-set-on-fire, shall-have-taken

**non** quam acerbissimum supplicium de servis;  
 not as-bitter-as-possible punishment of (his) slaves;

**utrum** is videatur esse clemens ac misericors, an  
 whether he may-seem to be clement and merciful, or

**inhumanissimus** et crudelissimus? **Vero** mihi  
 most-inhuman and most-cruel? But (he would seem) to me

importunus ac ferreus qui lenierit non  
 importunate (cruel) and made-of-iron who shall-have-soothed not  
 suum dolorem que cruciatum dolore ac cruciatu  
 his-own grief and torment by the grief and torment  
 nocentis. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui  
 of (the person) injuring. Thus we in these men, who  
 voluerunt trucidare nos, qui  
 have-wished to slaughter us, who (have wished to slaughter)  
 conjuges, qui nostros liberos; qui conati sunt  
 (our) wives, who our children; who have-endeavoured  
 delere singulas domos uniuscujusque nostrum, et  
 to destroy the several houses of each-one of us, and  
 hoc universum domicilium reipublicæ; qui egerunt  
 this whole abode of the republic; who have-acted  
 id, ut collocarent gentem Allobrogum  
 (attempted) this, that they might-place the nation of the Allobroges  
 in vestigiis hujus urbis, atque in cinere (*sing.*)  
 in the traces of this city, and in the ashes  
 deflagrati imperii: si fuerimus vehementissimi  
 of the consumed empire: if we-shall-have-been very-vehement  
 habebimur misericordes; sin voluerimus  
 we shall-be-held (accounted) merciful; but-if we-shall-have-wished  
 esse remissiores, fama summæ crudelitatis, in  
 to be more-remiss, the report of the highest cruelty, in  
 perniciæ patriæ que civium, est subeunda  
 the destruction of country and of citizens, is to be-undergone  
 nobis. Nisi, vero, L. Cæsar, fortissimus vir, et  
 to us (by us). Unless, truly, L. Cæsar, a most-bold man, and  
 amantissimus reipublicæ, visus est cuiquam crudelior,  
 most-loving of the republic, seemed to any-one more-cruel,  
 cum dixit virum suæ sororis, electissimæ  
 when he said the man (husband) of his-own sister, a most-select  
 feminae, præsentem et audientem, esse privandum  
 woman, being-present and hearing, to be to be-deprived  
 vitâ; cum dixit avum interfectum esse,  
 from life (of life); when he said (his) grand-father to have-been-slain,  
 jussu consulis, que filium ejus impuberem,  
 by order of-the-consul, and the son of him not-being-of-age

missum legatum a patre, necatum esse in  
being-sent ambassador by the father, to have-been-killed in

carcere. Quorum quod simile factum (est)? Quod  
prison. Of whom what like (thing) was-done? What

consilium reipublicæ delendæ initum (est)?  
design of the republic to be-destroyed was-entered-into?

Voluntas largitionis versata est  
A wish of giving-liberally (to-the-people) was-engaged (existed)

tum in republicâ, et quædam contentio partium.  
then in the republic, and some contention of parts

Atque illo tempore avus hujus  
(of parties). And at that time the grandfather of this

Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus persecutus est  
Lentulus, a most-famous man, being-armed pursued

Gracchum: ille etiam tum accepit grave vulnus, ne  
Gracchus: he also then received a heavy wound, lest

quid minueretur de summâ republicâ:  
any (thing) might-be-diminished from the highest republic:

hic arcessit Gallos ad fundamenta  
this (Lentulus) sends-for the Gauls to (for) the foundations

reipublicæ evertenda, concitat servitia, vocat  
of the republic to be-overturned, excites the slaves, calls

Catilinam, attribuit nos Cethego trucidandos,  
Catiline, assigns us to Cethegus to be-slaughtered,

ceteros cives Gabinio interficiendos, urbem Cassio  
the other citizens to Gabinius to be-slain, the city to Cassius

inflammandam, totam Italiam Catilinæ vastandam  
to be-set-on-fire, the whole Italy to Catiline to be-laid-waste

que diripiendam. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc  
and to be-plundered. You should-fear, I judge, lest in this

tam immani ac nefando scelere, videamini  
so outrageous and impious crime, you may-seem

statuisse aliquid nimis severe; cum sit  
to have-determined something too severely; when it-may-be

verendum multo magis, ne remissione pœnæ  
to be-feared by much more, less by permission of punishment

videamur fuisse crudeles in patriam, quam  
we may-seem to have-been cruel unto the country, than



ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes  
 lest by the severity of punishment too violent  
 in acerbissimos hostes.  
 against the most-bitter enemies.

7. Sed, conscripti patres, possum non dissimulare  
 But, conscript fathers, I am-able not to dissemble  
 ea quæ exaudio. Enim voces jaciuntur,  
 those (things) which I hear. For voices (speeches) are-cast  
 quæ perveniunt ad meas aures, eorum qui  
 (uttered), which arrive to my ears, of those who  
 videntur vereri, ut habeam satis præsidii ad  
 seem to fear, that I may-have enough of guard to (for)  
 ea transigunda quæ vos  
 those (things) to be-performed (for performing those things) which you  
 statueritis hodierno-die. Omnia et  
 shall have-determined on-this-day. All (things) both  
 provisa sunt, et parata, et constituta, conscripti  
 have-been-foreseen, and prepared, and appointed, conscript  
 patres, cum meâ summâ curâ atque diligentîâ,  
 fathers, when (as well) by my highest care and diligence,  
 tum etiam multo majore voluntate Romani  
 then (as) also by a much greater wish of the Roman  
 populi ad summum imperium retinendum, et  
 people to (for) the highest empire (rule) to be-retained, and  
 ad communes fortunas conservandas. Omnes  
 to (for) the common fortunes to be-preserved. All  
 homines omnium ordinum, denique omnium ætatum  
 men of all orders, finally of all ages  
 adsunt: forum est plenum, templa circa forum  
 are-present: the forum is full, the temples about the forum  
 plena, omnes aditus hujus loci ac templi pleni.  
 full, all the approaches of this place and temple full.  
 Enim hæc causa sola inventa est post urbem  
 For this cause alone has-been-found after (since) the city  
 conditam, in quâ omnes sentirent unum atque  
 being-founded, in which all might-think one and  
 idem, præter eos, qui cum viderent esse  
 the same (thing), except those, who when they might-see (it) to be

pereundum sibi, voluerunt  
to be-perished to (by) themselves (that they must perish), wished  
potius perire cum omnibus, quam soli. Ego excipio  
rather to perish with all, than alone. I except  
et libenter secerno hosce homines: enim neque  
and willingly separate these men: for neither  
puto habendos in numero improborum  
do-I-think (them) to be-held (accounted) in the number of dishonest  
civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium. Vero  
citizens, but the (number) of most-bitter enemies. But  
ceteri, immortales dii! quâ frequentiâ, quo  
the rest, immortal gods! with what attendance (number), with what  
studio, quâ virtute consentiunt ad communem  
ardour, with what virtue (boldness) they-agree to the common  
dignitatem que salutem? Quid ego commemorem hic  
dignity and safety? Why may-I-mention here  
Romanos equites? Qui ita concedunt vobis summam  
the Roman knights? Who so concede to you the sum  
ordinis que consilii, ut certent  
(the chief place) of rank and of counsel, that they may-contend  
vobiscum de amore reipublicæ: quos revocatos  
with-you concerning love of the republic: whom being-recalled  
ex dissensione multorum annorum ad societatem  
out-of a disagreement of many years to the society  
que concordiam hujus ordinis, hodiernus dies  
and concord of this order (the senators), this-day  
atque hæc causa conjungit vobiscum: quam  
and this cause unites with you: which  
conjunctionem confirmatam in meo consulatu, si  
union confirmed in my consulship, if  
tenuerimus perpetuam in republicâ, confirmo  
we shall-have-held (it) perpetual in the republic, I confirm  
vobis, nullum civile ac domesticum malum esse  
to you, no civil and domestic evil to be  
venturum posthac ad ullam partem reipublicæ.  
about-to-come hereafter to any part of the republic.

Video tribunos ærarios,  
I see the tribunes belonging-to-the-treasury (the receivers general),

fortissimos viros convenisse pari studio  
most-bold men to have-come-together with like ardour

reipublicæ defendendæ; item universos scribas:  
of the republic to be-defended; also all the clerks:

quos cum hæc dies casu frequentasset ad  
whom since this day by accident might-have-collected to

ærarium, video esse conversos ab expectatione  
the treasury, I see to be turned from the expectation

sortis ad communem salutem. Omnis multitudo  
of (their) lot to the common safety. All the multitude

ingenuorum, etiam tenuissimorum,  
of freeborn (citizens), even of the-most-slender (poorest),

adest. Enim quis est, cui hæc templa, aspectus  
is-present. For who is there, to whom these temples, the sight

urbis, possessio libertatis, denique hæc lux ipsa,  
of the city, the possession of liberty, finally this light itself,

et hoc commune solum patriæ, sit non cum  
and this common soil of country, may-be not when

carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?  
(as well) dear, then (as) truly sweet and pleasant?

8. Est pretium operæ, conscripti patres,  
It-is the price of labour (it is worth while), conscript fathers,

cognoscere studia  
to know (to acquaint yourselves with) the studies (ardour)

libertinorum hominum, qui suâ virtute consecuti  
of the freed-men, who by their virtue having-attained

fortunam civitatis, judicant hanc esse vere suam  
the fortune of the state, judge this to-be truly their-own

patriam: quam quidam nati hinc, et nati  
country: which some (persons) born hence, and born

summo loco, judicaverunt non esse suam  
in the highest place (condition), have-judged not to be their-own

patriam, sed urbem hostium. Sed quid ego commemorem  
country, but a city of enemies. But why may-I-mention

homines hujusce ordinis, quos privatæ fortunæ, quos  
the men of this order, whom private fortunes, whom

communis respublica, quos denique ea libertas, quæ  
the common republic, whom finally that liberty, which

**est** dulcissima, excitavit ad salutem patriæ  
 is most-sweet, has-excited to the safety of (their) country  
 defendendam? Est nemo servus, qui sit modè  
 to be-defended? There-is no-one a slave, who may-be only  
 tolerabili conditione servitutis, qui perhorrescat non  
 in a tolerable condition of slavery, who may-dread not  
 audaciam perditorum civium, qui cupiat non  
 the audacity of lost (abandoned) citizens, who may-desire not  
 hæc stare, qui conferat non tantum voluntatis  
 these (things) to stand, who may-confer not so-much of good-will  
 quantum audet, et quantum potest ad communem  
 as he dares, and as he-is-able to the common  
 salutem. Quare si forte hoc quod auditum est  
 safety. Wherefore if by-chance this which has-been-heard  
 commovet quem vestrûm, quendam lenonem Lentuli  
 moves any-one of you, a certain pimp of Lentulus  
 concursare circum tabernas, sperantem animos  
 to run-about around the shops, hoping the minds  
 egentium atque imperitorum posse sollicitari  
 of the needy and of the unskilful to be-able to be-solicited  
 pretio; id quidem cœptum (est) atque  
 by a price (reward); that indeed has been-begun and  
 tentatum: sed nulli inventi sunt aut tam miseri  
 tried: but none have-been-found either so wretched  
 fortunâ, aut tam perditî voluntate, qui velint  
 in fortune, or so lost (abandoned) in will, who may-wish  
 non illum locum ipsum sellæ atque operis, et  
 not that place itself of (their) seat (stall) and of work, and  
 quotidiani quæstus, qui non suum cubile ac  
 of daily gain, who (may wish) not his couch and  
 lectulum, denique qui non hunc otiosum  
 little-bed, finally who (may wish) not this idle (peaceable)  
 cursum suæ vitæ esse salvum. Vero multo maxima  
 course of their life to be safe. But by much the greatest  
 pars eorum, qui sunt in tabernis, immo vero (enim  
 part of those, who are in the shops, yes truly (for  
 id est potius dicendum) universum hoc genus,  
 that is rather to be-said) the whole this kind (class);



est amantissimum otii. Etenim omne instrumentum,  
 .s most-loving of ease. For all the apparatus,  
 omnis opera, ac quæstus eorum sustinetur  
 all the labour, and gain of them is-supported  
 frequentiâ civium, alitur otio: si quæstus  
 by-asmblage of citizens, is-cherished by ease: if the gain  
 quorum solet minui, tabernis ocllulis, quid  
 of whom is-accustomed to be-diminished, the shops being-shut, what  
 tandem est futurum, incensis. Cum  
 at-length is about-to-be, (the shops) being-set-on-fire. Since  
 quæ sint ita, conscripti patres, præsidia  
 which (things) may-be thus, conscript fathers, the guards (protection)  
 Romani populi desunt non vobis: providete ne  
 of the Roman people are-wanting not to you: foresee lest  
 vos videamini deesse Romano populo.  
 you may-seem to-be-wanting to the Roman people.

9. Habetis consulem reservatum ex plurimis  
 You have a consul reserved out-of very-many  
 periculis et insidiis, atque ex mediâ morte, non  
 dangers and snares, and out-of middle death, not  
 ad suam vitam, sed ad vestram salutem:  
 to (for) his-own life, but to (for) your safety:  
 omnes ordines consentiunt mente, voluntate,  
 all orders (ranks) agree in mind, in will,  
 studio, virtute, voce ad rempublicam  
 in ardour, in valour, in voice to (for) the republic  
 conservandam: communis patria obsessa facibus  
 to be-preserved: (your) common country beset with the torches  
 et telis impiæ conjurationis, supplex tendit  
 and weapons of an impious conspiracy, suppliant stretches (her)  
 manus vobis: commendat vobis se, vobis vitam  
 hands to you: she commends to you herself, to you the life  
 omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium,  
 of all the citizens, to you the citadel and the Capitol,  
 vobis aras Penatum, vobis illum perpetuum ac  
 to you the altars of the Penates, to you that perpetual and  
 sempiternum ignem Vestæ, vobis omnia templa  
 æternal fire of Vesta, to you all the temples

atque delubra deorum, vobis muros atque tecta  
 and shrines of the gods, to you the walls and roofs (houses;  
 urbis. Præterea est judicandum vobis  
 of the city. Besides it is to be-judged to you (by you)  
 hodierno die de vestrâ vitâ, de animâ  
 on-this-day concerning your life, concerning the life  
 vestrarum conjugum ac liberorum, de fortunis  
 of your wives and children, concerning the fortunes  
 omnium, de sedibus, de vestris  
 of all, concerning (your) seats (abodes), concerning your  
 focus. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum  
 hearths. You have a leader mindful of you, forgetful  
 sui, quæ facultas datur non semper: habetis  
 of himself, which means is-given not always: you have  
 omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum Romanum  
 all ranks, all men, the whole Roman  
 populum, id quod videmus primum in  
 people, that which we-see first (for the first time) in  
 civili causâ hodierno die, sentientem unum atque  
 a civil cause on-this-day, thinking one and  
 idem. Cogitate una nox pæne delerit  
 the same (thing). Think one night almost may have-destroyed  
 imperium fundatum quantis laboribus, libertatem  
 an empire founded with how-great labours, liberty  
 stabilitam quantâ virtute, fortunas auctas que  
 established by how-great valour, fortunes increased and  
 exaggeratas quantâ benignitate deorum. Est  
 heaped-up by how-great kindness of the gods. It-is  
 providendum hodierno die, non modo ne id possit  
 to be-foreseen on this-day, not only lest that may be-able  
 umquam posthac confici, sed ne quidem  
 ever hereafter to be-performed, but not-even  
 cogitari a civibus. Atque locutus sum hæc,  
 to be-thought (devised) by citizens. And I have-spoken these  
 non ut excitarem vos, qui pæne præcurritis  
 (things), not that I might-excite you, who almost run-before  
 mihi studio; sed ut mea vox, quæ debet  
 to me (outstrip me) in ardour; but that my voice, which ought

esse princeps in republicâ, videretur functa (esse,  
to be chief (first) in the republic, might-seem to have-discharged  
consulari officio.

with the consular duty (to have discharged the consular duty).

10. Nunc, conscripti patres, antequam redeo ad  
Now, conscript fathers, before-that I return to  
sententiam, dicam pauca de me.  
the opinion, I will-say a few (things) concerning myself.

Ego video me suscepisse tantam multitudinem  
I see myself to have-taken-up so great a multitude

inimicorum, quanta manus conjuratorum est,  
of enemies, as-great-as the band of the conspirators is,

quam videtis esse permagnam: sed judico eam esse  
which you see to be very-great: but I judge it to be

turpem et infirmam, contemtam et abjectam.  
base and weak, despised and abject.

Quod si aliquando, ista manus concitata furore  
But-if at-sometime, that band being-excited by the fury

et scelere alicujus, valuerit plus quam  
and by the crime of some-one, shall-have-prevailed more than

vestra dignitas ac reipublicæ; tamen, conscripti  
your dignity and (that) of the republic; yet, conscript

patres, pœnitebit me numquam meorum factorum  
fathers, it will-repent me never of my deeds

atque consiliorum. Etenim mors, quam illi fortasse  
and counsels. For death, which they perhaps

minitantur mihi, est parata omnibus: nemo  
threaten to me, is prepared for all: no-one

assecutus est tantam laudem vitæ, quantâ vos  
has-attained so-great praise of life, with as-great-as you

honestastis me vestris decretis. Enim decrevistis  
have-ennobled me by your decrees. For you have-decreed

semper ceteris gratulationem reipublicæ gestæ  
always to others thanksgiving of the republic being-carried-on

bene, mihi uni reipublicæ conservatæ. Ille  
well to me one (alone) of the republic being-preserved. That

Scipio sit clarus, consilio que virtute ejus  
Scipio may-be famous, by the counsel and by the valour of whom

Hannibal coactus est redire in Africam, atque  
 Hannibal was-forced to return into Africa, and  
 decedere ex Italiâ: alter Africanus  
 to depart out-of Italy: the other (Scipio) Africanus  
 ornetur eximiâ laude, qui delevit duas  
 may-be-adorned with excellent praise, who destroyed the two  
 urbes infestissimas huic imperio, Carthaginem que  
 cities most-hostile to this empire, Carthage and  
 Numantiam: ille L. Paullus habeatur egregius  
 Numantia: that L. Paullus may-be-held (accounted) an excellent  
 vir, currum cujus Perses, rex quondam  
 man, the chariot of whom Perses, a king once  
 potentissimus et nobilissimus, honestavit: Marius  
 most-powerful and most-noble, ennobled: Marius  
 sit in æternâ gloriâ, qui bis liberavit Italiam  
 may-be in eternal glory, who twice freed Italy  
 obsidione et metu servitutis: Pompeius  
 from siege and from fear of slavery: Pompey  
 anteponatur omnibus, res gestæ  
 may-be-placed-before (preferred) to all, the things carried-on  
 atque virtutes cujus continentur iisdem  
 (the exploits) and virtues of whom are-bounded by the same  
 regionibus ac terminis quibus cursus solis.  
 regions and limits by which the course of the sun  
 Erit profecto inter laudes horum  
 (is bounded). There-will-be indeed among the praises of these  
 aliquid loci nostræ gloriæ: nisi forte  
 something of place to our (for my) glory: unless by chance  
 est majus patefacere provincias nobis, quo  
 it-is a greater (thing) to open provinces to us, whither  
 possimus exire, quam curare ut etiam illi  
 we may-be-able to go-out, than to take-care that even those  
 qui absunt habeant quo victores  
 who are-absent may have (a place) whither (being) conquerors  
 revertantur. Quamquam uno loco conditio  
 they may-return. Although in one place (respect) the condition  
 externæ victoriæ est melior quam domesticæ;  
 of external victory is better than (that) of domestic (victory);



quod hostes, alienigenæ, aut oppressi serviunt  
because enemies, foreigners, either being-oppressed serve

aut, recepti, putant  
(become subservient), or, being-received (into friendship), think

se obligatos beneficio: autem, ex numero  
themselves obliged by the favour: but, out-of the number

civium, qui depravati aliqua dementiâ,  
of citizens, (those) who being-depraved by some madness,

cœperunt semel esse hostes patriæ, cum  
have-begun once to be enemies of the country, when

repuleris a perniciæ reipublicæ,  
thou mayst-have-repulsed (them) from the destruction of the republic,

possis nec coërcere eos vi nec placare  
thou mayst-be-able neither to restrain them by force nor to appease

beneficio. Quare video æternum bellum  
by kindness. Wherefore I see an eternal war

susceptum esse mihi cum perditis  
to have-been-undertaken to me (by me) with lost (abandoned)

civibus: quod, vestro auxilio, que omnium  
citizens: which, by your aid, and (by that) of all

bonorum, que memoriâ tantorum periculorum,  
the good, and by the memory of so-great dangers,

quæ semper hærebit, non modo in hoc populo qui  
which always will adhere, not only in this people which

servatus est, sed etiam in sermonibus ac mentibus  
has-been-preserved, but also in the discourses and the minds

omnium gentium, ego confido posse facile propulsari  
of all nations, I trust to be-able easily to be-repulsed

a me atque a meis. Neque profecto ulla tanta  
from me and from mine. Nor indeed any so-great

vis. reperiatur, quæ possit perfringere et  
violence will be-found, which may-be-able to break-through and

labefactare vestram conjunctionem que Romanorum  
to overthrow your union and (that) of the Roman

equitum, et tantam conspirationem omnium bonorum.  
knights, and so-great agreement of all the good.

11. Cum quæ sint ita, conscripti patres.  
Since which (things) may-be so, conscript fathers,

**pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provinciâ, quam**  
 for the command, for the army, for the province, which  
**neglexi, pro triumpho, que ceteris insignibus**  
 I have-neglected, for the triumph, and the other marks  
**laudis, quæ repudiata sunt a me, propter**  
 of praise, which have-been-rejected by me, because-of  
**custodiam urbis que vestræ salutis, pro**  
 the guardianship of the city and of your safety, for  
**clientelis que hospitii provincialibus,**  
 the clientships and friendships belonging-to-the-provinces (for my  
 clients and friends in the provinces), which yet I defend  
**opibus urbanis non minore labore**  
 by the resources belonging-to-the-city not with less labour  
**quam comparo: igitur pro omnibus his**  
 than I procure (them): therefore for all these  
**rebus, pro meis singularibus studiis in vos,**  
 things, for my singular studies (ardour) unto you,  
**que pro hac diligentia, quam conspiciatis, ad**  
 and for this (my) diligence, which you perceive, to (for)  
**republicam conservandam, postulo nihil aliud**  
 the republic to be-preserved, I require nothing other (else)  
**a vobis, nisi memoriam hujus temporis,**  
 from you, unless the memory (remembrance) of this time,  
**que totius mei consulatus: dum quæ erit**  
 and of the whole of my consulship: while which shall-be  
**infixa vestris mentibus arbitrabor me esse septum**  
 infixed to your minds I shall-think myself to be inclosed  
**firmissimo muro. Quod si vis improborum**  
 by a most-strong wall. But-if the violence of the dishonest  
**fefellerit atque superaverit meam spem,**  
 shall-have-deceived and shall-have-overcome my hope,  
**commendo vobis meum parvum filium; cui profecto**  
 I commend to you my little son; to whom indeed  
**erit satis præsidii, non solum ad**  
 there will-be enough of guard (protection), not only to (for)  
**salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si**  
 safety, but even to (for) dignity, if

meminertis illum esse filium ejus  
 you shall-have-remembered him to be the son of that person,  
 qui solus conservaverit omnia hæc suo  
 who alone may-have-preserved all these (things) at his-own  
 periculo. Quapropter, conscripti patres, decernite  
 danger. On-which-account, conscript fathers, decree  
 diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter, de  
 diligently, as you have-begun, and boldly, concerning  
 vestrâ summâ salute, que Romani populi,  
 your highest safety, and (that) of the Roman people,  
 de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de  
 concerning your wives and children, concerning  
 aris ac focus, de fanis ac templis,  
 (your) altars and hearths, concerning (your) fanes and temples.  
 de tectis ac sedibus totius urbis,  
 concerning the roofs and seats (abodes) of the whole city,  
 de imperio, de libertate, de salute  
 concerning the empire, concerning liberty, concerning the safety  
 Italiæ, que de universâ republicâ. Enim  
 of Italy, and concerning the whole republic. For  
 habetis eum consulem qui dubitet non et  
 you have that consul who may-doubt (hesitate) not both  
 parere vestris decretis, et defendere ea  
 to obey to your decrees, and to defend those (things)  
 quæ statueritis quoad vivet, et  
 which you shall-have-determined as-long-as he shall-live, and  
 præstare per se ipsum, possit.  
 to perform (them) by himself, (as-long-as) he may-be-able.

ORATIO  
THE ORATION  
MARCI TULLII CICERONIS,  
OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO,

PRO  
FOR

A. LICINIO ARCHIA POËTA.  
A. LICINUS ARCHIAS THE POET.



1. Si quid ingenii est in me iudices, quod  
If aught of talent is in me O judges, (and) which  
quam exiguum sit sentio; aut si qua exercitatio  
how slight it-is I-feel; or if any practice  
dicendi, in quâ non infitior me esse  
in (public) speaking, in which I do not deny (that) I am  
mediocriter versatum; aut si aliqua ratio  
moderately experienced; or if any method [systematic  
huiusce rei  
knowledge] of-this-same thing [of this same art of public speaking]  
profecta ab studiis optimarum artium  
arising from the-study of-the-best arts [liberal sciences]  
ac disciplinâ, a quâ ego confiteor nullum  
and from-instruction, from which I confess no  
tempus meæ ætatis abhoruisse.  
time [part] of-my life to-have-been-averse [to have been  
estranged]. Hic A. Licinus debet vel in  
This A. Licinus ought [is entitled] even in [among]  
primis repetere a me fructum omnium  
the-first to-claim-in-return from me the fruit [benefit] of all  
(123)





huic uni studio. Etenim omnes artes, quæ  
 to-this one study (of oratory). For all the arts, which  
 pertinent ad humanitatem habent  
 may-relate to humanity [to liberal and polite studies] have  
 quoddam commune vinculum, et continentur  
 some common bond (of union) and are contained  
 quasi quâdam cognatione inter  
 [are connected together] as-if by some relationship among  
 se.  
 themselves.

2. Sed ne videatur esse mirum cui

But (that) it' may not 'appear to be wonderful to-any (one)

vestrum, me in legitimâ questione, et in publico  
 of you, (that) I in a legal question, and in a public  
 judicio, cum res agatur apud  
 court (of justice) when the thing (the action) is tried before  
 prætorem Romani populi lectissimum virum,  
 a prætor of-the-Roman people the-most-select of men

et apud severissimos judices,  
 [a most meritorious man], and before most-grave [strict] judges,

tanto conventu ac frequentiâ hominum uti  
 (and) in such an assembly and multitude of men should use

hoc genere dicendi, quod abhorreat non modò  
 this kind (of public) speaking, which is at variance not only

a consuetudine judiciorum verum etiam a  
 with the custom of courts (of justice) but also with

forensi sermone: quæso a vobis, ut  
 forensic speech [pleading at the bar]: I request of you, that

detis mihi, in hac causâ, hanc veniam,  
 you-may-grant me, in this case, that indulgence,

accommodatam huic reo, quemadmodum spero  
 suitable to this defendant, (and) as I-hope

non molestam vobis, ut patiamini me dicentem pro  
 not disagreeable to-you, that you may allow me pleading for

summo poëtâ atque eruditissimo homine, hoc  
 a distinguished poet and for-a-most-learned man, in this

concursu literatissimorum hominum, hac vestrâ  
 course of-most-instructed men, before-this your

humanitate,

humanity [before a court constituted of men distinguished for such libera

denique, hoc prætore exercente judicium,  
knowledge], in-fine, such-a prætor exercising judicature

loqui paullò liberiùs de studiis  
[presiding at the trial], to speak a little more-freely of the studies

humanitatis ac literarum, et in personâ ejusmodi,  
of-the-liberal-arts and literature, and in a character such-as-this,

quæ, propter otium ac studium, est minimè  
who, on account (of his) quiet-life and studies, 'is very little

tractata in judiciis que periculis, uti propè  
'conversant in public trials and (their) risks, to use nearly

quodam novo et inusitato genere dicendi.  
a certain new and unusual mode of-speaking.

Quod si sentiam tribui que  
Which (indulgence) if (as) I feel is to be granted and

concedi mihi a vobis, profectò perficiam, ut  
allowed to me by you, assuredly I-will-effect, that

putetis, hunc A. Licinium non modo non  
you-may-think, (that) this A. Licinium 'is not only not

segregandum a numero civium  
to be separated from the number of citizens [to be deprived of the

cum sit civis, verùm etiam, si  
rights of citizenship] when he is a-citizen, but (that) also, if

esset non, fuisse adsciscendum.  
he were not (a citizen), he-ought-to-have-been admitted (among them).

3. Nam ut Archias primum excessit ex pueris,  
For as Archias first grew-out of boyhood,

atque ab iis artibus, quibus puerilis ætas  
and from (the study of) those arts, by-which puerile age

solet informari ad humanitatem contulit se ad  
is-wont to be trained to liberal knowledge he devoted himself to

studium scribendi: primùm Antiochiæ  
to-the-study of writing [poetic composition]: at first at Antioch

(nam natus est ibi nobili loco)  
(for he-was-born there in-an-illustrious rank) [of a noble family]

quondam celebri et copiosâ urbe, atque affluenti,  
formerly a celebrated and rich city, and abounding,

eruditissimis hominibus, que liberalissimis  
 1st-the-most-learned men, and (celebrated for) liberal  
 studiis, contigit celeriter antecellere omnibus  
 studies, it-happened (to him) speedily to excel all  
 gloriâ ingenii. Pòst in ceteris partibus  
 in the renown (of his) talents. Afterwards in other parts  
 Asiæ que cunctæ Græciæ, ejus adventus celebrabantur  
 of-Asia and of all Greece, his arrivals were celebrated  
 sic, ut expectatio hominis  
 so [were so much talked of], that the expectation of-the-man [desire  
 superaret famam ingenii,  
 of seeing the man] might exceed (even) the fame of (his) talents (but),  
 adventus ipsius que admiratio  
 the arrival of himself and the admiration (it caused even surpassed)  
 expectationem. Italia erat tunc plena Græcarum  
 the expectation. Italy was then full of-Greek  
 artium ac disciplinarum, que hæc studia colebantur  
 arts and culture, and these studies were cultivated  
 et tum in Latio vehementiùs, quam nunc in  
 both then in Latium more ardently, than (they are) now in  
 iisdem oppidis, et hìc Romæ propter  
 the-same towns, and here at-Rome (for) on-account-of  
 tranquillitatem reipublicæ non neglegebantur.  
 the tranquillity of the republic 'they were not 'neglected (but  
 Itaque et Tarentini et Rhegini  
 flourished greatly). Therefore both the Tarentinians and the Rhegians  
 et Neapolitani donarunt hunc civitate  
 and the Neapolitans rewarded him with-the-city [granted him  
 que ceteris præmiis; et omnes  
 the rights of citizenship] and with-other gifts; and all (men)  
 qui poterant judicare aliquid de ingeniis  
 who could judge any-thing of talents [who had discern-  
 existimarunt dignum  
 ment enough to distinguish merit] thought (him) worthy (of their)  
 cognitione atque hospitio. Cum esset jam notus  
 acquaintance and hospitality. When he-was already known  
 hac tantâ celebritate famæ absentibus, venit  
 by-this so-great celebrity of reputation to-those-absent, he came



Romam, Mario consule, et Catulo. Nactus est,  
to-Rome, Marius being-consul, and Catulus. He-found,

primùm, eos consules, quorum alter posset adhibere  
at first, those consuls, of whom the one could furnish (him)

maximas res ad scribendum, cum alter  
the greatest subjects to be-written-on, when the other (could not

res gestas, tum etiam  
only furnish him) things performed [military achievements], but also

studium atque aures. Statim  
(an attachment to liberal) studies and (correct) ears. Immediately

Luculli, cum Aarchias esset etiam tum prætextatus,  
the Luculli, though Aarchias was even then a young-man,

receperunt eum suam domum. Sed hoc  
received him 'into their 'house. But this (was)

non solum ingenii ac literarum,  
not only (on account 'of his) 'talents and 'of (his) 'learning,

verùm etiam naturæ atque  
but also 'of (his) 'nature [good natural disposition] and

virtutis, ut domus, quæ fuerit prima  
'of (his) 'virtue, that the house, which had been the first (residence)

hujus adolescentiæ, eadem esset familiarissima  
of his youth, the same was most-familiar

senectuti. Erat illis temporibus jucundus  
'to (his) 'old age. He was at-that time agreeable

Q. Metello illi Numidico,  
[held in affectionate esteem] to Q. Metellus that (celebrated) Numidicus,

et ejus filio Pio. Audiebatur a M. Æmilio;  
and his son Pius. He-was-listened-to by M. Æmilius;

vivebat cum Q. Catulo, et patre et  
he lived (on terms of intimacy) with Q. Catulus, both father and

filio; colebatur a L. Crasso. Cum teneret  
son; he-was-greatly-esteemed by L. Crassus. When (as also) he held

devinctam consuetudine Lucullos vero,  
attached (to himself) by habits (of intimacy) the-Luculli indeed,

et Drusum, et Octavios, et Catonem, et totam  
also Drusus, and the-Octavii, and Cato, and the-whole

domum Hortensiorum, afficiebatur summo  
family of the Hortensii, he-was-rewarded with-the-greatest

honore ; quod  
 honour [he was held by them in the greatest honour and esteem] ; for  
 non solum colebant eum, qui  
 not only (those) cultivated him [courted his acquaintance], who  
 studebant percipere atque audire aliquid, verùm  
 studied to learn and to hear something, but  
 etiam, si qui forte simulabant.  
 also, if any one by chance affected (this).

4. Interim, satis longo intervallo,  
 In-the-meanwhile, a sufficiently long interval (of time  
 cum esset profectus cum L. Lucullo in  
 having elapsed), when he had gone with L. Lucullo into  
 Siciliam, et cum decederet ex eâ provinciâ cum  
 Sicily, and when he departed from that province with  
 eodem Lucullo, venit Heracleam. Quæ cum esset  
 the-same Lucullus, he came to Heraclea. Which as it-was  
 civitas æquissimo jure ac  
 a-city (enjoying) the-very-same rights (and privileges with Rome) and  
 fœdere voluit adscribi se in  
 'in (strict) 'alliance (therewith) he desired to-be-enrolled himself in  
 eam civitatem ; que cum ipse putaretur dignus  
 that city (as a citizen) ; and as he was thought worthy  
 per se, tum auctoritate et graciâ Luculli  
 (of it) by himself, as-well-as by-the-authority and favour of Lucullus  
 impetravit id ab Heracleensibus. Civitas  
 he obtained this from the Heracleans. The-rights-of-Roman-citizenship  
 est data lege Silvani et Carbonis. "Si  
 was granted (to him) by-the-law of-Silvanus and of Carbo. "If  
 qui fuissent adscripti fœderatis civitatibus ;  
 any-persons had-been enrolled among-the-confederated cities ;  
 si cum lex ferebatur habuissent domicilium in  
 if when the-law was-passed they had a-residence in  
 Italiâ ; et si sexaginta diebus essent professi apud  
 Italy ; and if in sixty days they had declared before  
 prætorem."  
 Cum hic haberet  
 the prætor (their wish to be enrolled as citizens)." As he had  
 jam domicilium multos annos, professus est  
 already a residence (of) many years, he-declared (his intention)

apud Q. Metellum, prætorem, suum familiarissimum.  
before Q. Metellus, the prætor, his most-intimate-friend.

Si dicimus nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege,  
If we say nothing else except about (his) citizenship and the law

dico nihil ampliùs; causa  
(as relates to it), 'I (need) 'say nothing more; the cause

dicta est. Enim quid horum Grati  
is-pleaded (and is gained). For which of these (statements) O Gratus

potest infirmari? ne negabis esse  
can be-invalidated? 'you 'will not 'deny (that) he-was

adscriptum tum Heracleæ? Adest  
enrolled then (among the citizens) at Heraclea? There is present

vir summâ auctoritate, et religione  
a man (having) the highest authority, and religion [scrupulous

et fide, L. Lucullus, qui dicit se  
regard for truth] and integrity, L. Lucullus, who says (that) he

non opinari, sed scire, non  
does not think, but (that) he knows (it to be so), (that) 'he 'did not

audivisse, sed vidisse non interfuisse,  
'hear, but saw (it) (that) 'he 'was not only 'present,

sed egisse. Heracleenses legati adsunt,  
but acted (in the affair). Heracleean delegates are present,

nobilissimi homines; venerunt causâ  
most-celebrated men (of the highest rank); they-have-come on account

hujus judicii, cum mandatis et cum publico  
of this trial, with instructions (from their city) and with public

testimonio; qui dicunt hunc adscriptum  
testimony; who say (that) he (was) a naturalized

Heracleensem. Hic tu desideras publicas tabulas  
Heracleean. Here you desire the public registers

Heracleensium, quas omnes scimus interisse  
of the Heracleans, which 'we all 'know to-have-perished

Italico bello, tabulario incenso. Est ridiculum,  
in-the-Italian war, the registry being burned. It is ridiculous,

dicere nihil ad ea quæ habemus; quærere  
to say nothing to those (proofs) which we have; (but) to ask-for

quæ possumus non habere; et tacere  
'those) which we can not have; and to be silent

de memoriâ hominum, flagitare  
concerning the recollection [testimony] of men, (and) to-insist-on

memoriam literarum; et cum habeas  
the testimony of records; and when you-may-have

religionem amplissimi viri,  
the conscientious-testimony of a most-honourable man, (and)

jusjurandum que fidem integerrimi municipii,  
the oath and faith of a most-respectable municipality,

epudiare ea, quæ possunt nullo modo  
to reject these (things), which can in no manner

depravari desiderare tabulas, quas idem dicis  
be falsified (and) to require registers, which even you-say

solere corrumpi. At habuit non domicilium in  
are accustomed to be altered. But he-had not a domicile in

Italiâ: is qui tot annis ante civitatem datam,  
Italy: (not) he who for-so-many years before citizenship was granted

collocavit sedem omnium suarum rerum ac  
(him), had placed the seat of all his effects and

fortunarum Romæ? At non est professus?  
of all his fortunes at Rome? But 'he 'did not declare (his

Immo vero iis  
intention of becoming a citizen)? Yes indeed (he did, and) in-those

tabulis professus quæ solæ ex illâ  
registers did he declare (his intention) which alone out-of that

professione, que collegio prætorum obtinent  
declaration, and college of prætors obtains

autoritatem publicarum tabularum.  
the authority of public registers.

5. Nam cum tabulæ Appii dicerentur asservatæ  
For as the registers of Appius were-said (to) have-been-kept

negligentius, levitas Gabinii  
very carelessly, the trifling (and inconsistent conduct) of Gabinus

quamdiu fuit incolumis, calamitas post  
as-long-as he-was safe (and), the misfortune after (his)

damnationem, resignasset omnem fidem tabularum;  
condemnation, had-taken-away all the faith of the registers

Metellus, homo  
[and deprived his registers of all credit]; Metellus, a man



sanctissimus que modestissimus omnium, fuit tanta  
the most pure and scrupulous of all (men), was so

diligentia, ut venerit ad L. Lentulum  
(full of) care, that he came to L. Lentulus

prætozem, et ad iudices, et dixerit, se esse  
the prætor, and to the judges, and said (that), he was

commotum liturâ unius nominis. Igitur his  
disturbed by-the-erasure of-a-single name. Therefore in these

tabulis videtis nullam lituram in nomen A. Licinii.  
registers you-see no erasure in the name of A. Licinius.

Quæ cum sint ita, quid est quod dubitetis  
Which (things) when they are so, what is there that you-may-doubt

de ejus civitate, præsertim cum fuerit adscriptus  
about his citizenship, especially as he was enrolled

quoque in aliis civitatibus? Etenim cum  
also in other cities (as a citizen)? For when

homines in Græciâ impertiebantur  
the men in Greece [Magna Græcia, or Southern Italy] granted

civitatem multis mediocribus, et præditis  
the-rights-of-citizenship to many ordinary-men, and endowed

aut nullâ arte aut aliquâ humili, gratuitò,  
either with no profession or some low-one, (and this) gratuitously

credo Rheginos aut Locrenses, aut  
(can) I believe, (that) the Rhegians or the Locrians, or

Neapolitanos, aut Tarentinos noluisse id huic  
the Neapolitans, or Tarentines would not (give) that to him

prædito summâ gloriâ ingenii, quod solebant  
endowed-with the greatest renown of talent, which they-were-accustomed

largiri scenicis artificibus. Quid? cum ceteri, non  
to grant to theatrical artists. What? when others, not

modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam  
only after citizenship had-been-granted (to them), but also

post Papiam legem, irrepserint aliquo modo in  
after the Papian law, had crept by some means into

tabulas eorum municipiorum; hic rejicietur, qui  
the registers of these municipalities; 'will-he-be 'rejected, who

ne utitur quidem illis in quibus est  
does not 'avail (himself) indeed of those in which he is

**scriptus,** quòd semper voluit se esse  
enrolled, because 'he always 'wished himself to be (considered)

**Heracleensem.** Requiris nostros census  
a Heracleean. You demand our census [the censor's lists]

**scilicet.** Est enim obscurum, proximis censoribus  
indeed. It is then unknown (that), under-the-last censors

hunc fuisse cum  
[at the time of taking the last census] he was with

clarissimo imperatore L. Lucullo apud exercitum;  
the-most-illustrious commander L. Lucullus with the army;

superioribus fuisse cum  
(that at the time of) the-preceding (census to this last) he was with

eodem quæstore in Asiâ;  
the same (person when he was) quæstor in Asiâ; (that)

primis Julio et Crasso  
in-the-first (census, after he became a citizen) Julius and Crassus

nullam partem populi esse censam.  
(being censors) no part of-the-people was rated

Sed quoniam census non  
[no census was taken]. But as the census 'does not

confirmat jus civitatis, ac tantummodò indicat  
'confirm the-right of-citizenship, and only indicates

eum, qui sit census se  
(that) he, who may-be rated [returned in the census] (that) he

jam tum gessisse ita, pro cive;  
already then had-conducted (himself) so, as a citizen (as to claim

iis temporibus, quæ tu criminâris  
enrollment); at-the-same time, that you charge (that)

ne quidem ipsius judicio eum versatum esse  
not even 'in his-own 'opinion 'did he 'exercise

jure Romanorum civium, et sæpe fecit  
the right of Roman citizens, 'he both often 'made

testamentum nostris legibus, et adit  
a will (according) to our laws, and he entered on

hæreditas Romanorum civium, et  
inheritances (left to him by) Roman citizens, and (his name)

delatus est ad ærarium in beneficiis,  
was-carried to the-public-treasury among the-beneficiaries [and the

a L.

honourable mention of his name was enrolled in the public treasury], by L.

Lucullo proconsule.

Lucullus the proconsul.

6. Quære argumenta, si potes quæ.  
Seek (for other) proofs, if you can (find) any

Enim hic nunquam revincetur neque suo  
For this (Archias) never will-be-refuted either by-his-own

judicio, neque amicorum.  
opinion, or (that of his) friends.

Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tantopere  
You ask of us, O Gratus, why 'we 'are so greatly

delectemur hoc homine. Quia suppeditat nobis  
'taken-up with-this man. Because he supplies us

ubi et animus reficiatur ex hoc forensi  
(with that) whereby both the mind may-be-refreshed after this forensio

strepitu et aures defessæ convicio  
noise [after the noise of the forum] and the ears fatigued with wrangling

conquiescant. An tu existimas, aut posse  
may-find-repose. Or do you suppose, either (that it) would-be-possible

nobis suppetere, quod  
for us to-have-a sufficient supply (of subjects), which

dicamus quotidie, in tantâ varietate rerum,  
we-might-discourse-on daily, in such a-variety of things

nisi excolamus nostros animos  
[pleadings], unless we-cultivated our minds

doctrinâ, aut animos posse ferre  
by the study of literature, or (that) (our) minds could bear

tantam contentionem, nisi relaxemus eos eâdem  
such (great) efforts, unless we relaxed them by-the-same

doctrinâ? Ego vero fateor, me esse deditum  
studies? I indeed confess (that), I am given

his studiis; pudeat ceteros si qui ita  
to-these studies; 'let others 'be ashamed, if they 'have so

abdiderunt se literis, ut possint  
'baried themselves in literature [in the study of], that they can

affere nihil ex his, neque ad communem  
bring nothing from these (studies), either for the common  
fructum, neque profere in adspectum  
advantage, or to bring-forth (any thing, to the view (of men)

que lucem.  
and the-light [or to publish any thing that may bear inspection].

Autem quid me pudeat, iudices, qui tot  
But why (need) I be ashamed, O judges, who so-many

annos vivo ita, ut unquam aut meum  
years live [have lived] so, that ever either my

otium abstraxerit me, aut voluptas  
leisure [love of tranquillity] may-have-drawn me from, or pleasure

avocarit, aut denique somnus  
may-have-called (me) from, or in fine sleep

retardarit tempore aut commodo  
may-have-retarded (me) from the dangers or advantage

nullius?  
of any one [from defending] those in danger, or forwarding the advan-

teous claims of others? Utinam quis tandem reprehendat  
me, aut quis iure excenseat mihi, si quantum  
me, or why by right may be angry with me, if as-much

temporum conceditur ceteris, ad obeundas suas res,  
time (as) is conceded to others, for transacting their affairs,

quantum ad celebrandos festos dies ludorum  
as-much (as is given) for celebrating festival days

quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad  
as-much (as is given) to other pleasures, and to

ipsam animi et corporis; quantum  
itself of the mind and of the body; as-much (time)

tribuunt tempestivis conviviis,  
devote to early banquets [to the pleasures of the table]

quantum denique aleæ, quantum  
as-much in-fine (as is devoted) to dice [games of hazard], as-much

pilæ; tantum egomet sumpsero  
(as is devoted to) ball-playing; so-much (time) I shall-have-taken

mihi ad recolenda hæc  
to myself [may I not take the same time] for again-cultivating these



studia? / Atque hoc est adeo magis concedendum  
 studies? And this is so-much the more to-be-allowed

mihi, quòd ex his studiis quoque hæc facultas et  
 to me, because from these studies also this faculty and

oratio crescit, quæ,  
 speaking [this faculty of public speaking] improves (in me) which,

quantacunque est in me, nunquam defuit  
 in-whatever-degree it exists in me, never was wanting

periculis amicorum.  
 to-the-dangers 'of (my) 'friends [never was refused to defend my friends

Quæ si videtur levis, certe  
 in danger]. Which if it-may-seem trifling, certainly

quidem sentio, ex quo fonte hauriam, illa  
 indeed I-know, from what source I-may-draw, those (subjects)

quæ sunt summa. Nam, nisi suasissem mihi  
 which are the most-important. For, unless I-had-persuaded myself

ab adolescentiâ, præceptis multorum, que  
 from youth (upwards), by-the-precepts of many (masters), and

multis literis esse nihil in vitâ, magnopere  
 by much literary-study (that) there is nothing in life, greatly

expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem,  
 to be-sought-after, except praise and honesty [an

autem in præcipiendâ ea,  
 honourable name], but in following (the attainment of) these,

cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque  
 tortures of-the-body, all the dangers of death and

esse ducenda parvi; nunquam  
 are to be held as of small (account); never

propterea me pro vestra salute in tot ac tantas  
 therefore-exposed myself for your safety in so many and so-great

dimicationes, atque in hos quotidianos impetus  
 contests, and in these daily attacks

profligatorum hominum. Sed omnes libri sunt pleni,  
 of profligate men. But all books are full,

voces sapientum plenæ, vetustas  
 the voices of-the-wise are full (of the maxims of philosophy), antiquity

plena exemplorum; omnia quæ jacerent in  
 (is) full of examples; all which might-have-lain in

tenebris, nisi lumen literarum accederet.  
darkness, unless the light of literature had-approached (them).

Quàm multas imagines fortissimorum virorum  
How many images [delineations] of the bravest men

expressas, non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad  
delineated, not only to be contemplated, but also to

imitandum, et Græci et Latini scriptores  
be imitated, 'have both the Greek and Latin writers

reliquarunt nobis; quas ego, semper preponens  
'left us; which I, always placing

mihi in administrandâ republica,  
before me in conducting the republic [in administering public

conformabam meam mentem et animum ipsâ  
affairs], moulded my mind- and soul by this

cogitatione excellentium hominum.  
contemplation of excellent men.

7. Quispiam quæret; quid? fuerunt illi ipsi  
'Should any one inquire, were those same

summi viri, quarum virtutes hereditæ sunt  
illustrious men, whose virtues have been handed-down (to us)

literis, eruditi istam doctrinâ, quam tu effers  
in books, instructed in this doctrine, which you extol (by your)

laudibus. Est difficile confirmare hæc omnibus;  
praises. It is difficult to confirm these to all;

sed tamen est certum, quid verum sit.  
but yet this is certain, what true (there to).

Ego fateor multos homines, fidei excellenti  
I confess (that) many men, with distinguished

animo ac virtute, et sine doctrinâ, propè  
minds and virtue, and without learning, as-if-nearly

divino habitu naturæ ipsius, extitisse per  
by-the-divine disposition of nature itself, have-become of

se ipsos et moderatos et graves. Adjungo  
themselves both discreet and important (men). I add

etiam illud sæpius naturam, sine doctrinâ  
also this (that) more-often nature, without learning

valuisse ad laudem atque virtutem, quàm doctrinam  
has-availed for fame and virtue, than learning

sine naturâ.

without nature [without a good natural disposition].

Atque ego

Am. 1

contendo idem, cum quædam ratio, que  
contend at-the-same (time), when a certain method, and

conformatio doctrinæ accesserit ad eximiam atque  
modelling of learning accedes to an excellent and

illustrem naturam, tum illud  
illustrious nature [natural disposition], then (that) that

nescio quid præclarum ac singulare  
I-know-not what brilliant and extraordinary (in the character)

solere existere; ex hoc numero esse hunc  
is-accustomed to-take-place; of this number was that

divinum hominem Africanum, quem nostri patres  
divine man Africanus, whom our fathers

viderunt; ex hoc C. Lælium L. Furium,  
saw; of this (number was) C. Lælium (and) L. Furius,

moderatissimos et continentissimos homines; ex hoc  
most-discreet and continent men; of this

fortissimum virum, M. Catonem,  
(number was also that) most-vigorous man, M. Cato,

illum senem, et doctissimos illis temporibus,  
that old man [the elder], and the most learned in-those times,

qui profectò se nihil adjuvarentur literis  
who (all) indeed if they had not 'been-aided by literature

ad percipiendam que colendam virtutem, nunquam  
in understanding and cultivating virtue, 'would never

contulissent se ad studium earum.  
'have-applied themselves to the study of them [literature].

Quod si hic tantus fructus non ostenderetur,  
Even if this so-great advantage 'should not 'be-made-apparent,

et si delectatio sola peteretur ex his studiis, tamen,  
and if delight only is sought from these studies, however,

ut opinor, judicaretis hanc adversionem animi  
as I think, you-would-judge this employment of-the-mind

humanissimam ac liberalissimam. Nam ceteræ  
most-human and liberal. For other

sunt neque omnium temporum,  
(occupations) are (proper) neither (for) all times,

neque ætatum, neque locorum; hæc studia  
 nor (for all) ages, nor (for all) places; these studies  
 alunt adolescentiam, oblectant senectutem, ornant  
 foster youth, delight old-age, adorn  
 secundas res, adversis præbent perfugium ac  
 prosperity, in adversity they offer a refuge and  
 solatium, delectant domi, non impediunt  
 a comfort, they-delight (us) at-home, 'they 'do not 'hinder (us)  
 foris, pernoctant cum nobis, peregrin-  
 abroad, they-pass-the-night with us, they-accompany-us-in-  
 nantur, rusticantur.  
 our-journeys, they-pass-the-time-with-us-in-the-country.

8. Quòd si ipsi possemus neque attingere  
 Although if we-ourselves could neither attain-to  
 hæc, neque gustare nostro sensu,  
 these, nor taste (them) with-our senses [nor enjoy them],  
 tamen deberemus mirari ea, etiam cum videremus  
 however we ought to admire them, even when we-see  
 in aliis. Quis nostrum fuit tam agresti ac  
 (them) in others. Who of-us was (of) so rude and  
 duro animo, ut nuper morte Roscii non  
 insensible a mind, as lately at-the-death of-Roscius not (to)  
 commoveretur? Qui, mortuus esset cum  
 have-been-moved? Who (though he), died when (he was)  
 senex, tamen propter excellentem artem  
 an old-man, yet on-account-of (his) excellent art  
 ac venustatem, videbatur omnino  
 and the beauty (of his performance), appeared altogether (as if he)  
 debuisse non mori. Ergo ille tantum motu  
 ought not to die. Therefore (when) he only by-the-motion  
 corporis conciliarat sibi, a nobis  
 of (his) body [by his gestures] had gained for himself, from us  
 omnibus, amorem, nos negligemus incredibiles  
 all, (our) love, 'should we 'neglect the incredible  
 motus animorum, que celeritatem ingeniorum?  
 movements of-the-mind, and the-celerity of talents?  
 Quoties, judices, vidi ego hunc Archiam, (enim  
 How-often, O judges, 'have I 'seen this Archias, (for



utar vestrâ benignitate, quoniam tam diligenter  
 I-will-use your kindness, since you so attentively  
 attenditis me, in hoc novo genere dicendi), quoties  
 listen to-me, in this novel kind of pleading), how-often  
 vidi ego hunc, cum scripsisset nullam literam.  
 'have I 'seen him, when he-had-written not (even) a letter,  
 dicere ex tempore magnum numerum optimorum  
 to recite extempore a great number of the best  
 versuum, de iis ipsis rebus, quæ tum  
 verses, concerning the very same affairs, which 'were then  
 agerentur! quoties revocatum dicere eandem  
 'transacting! as-often-as he-was-recalled to-repeat the same  
 rem, commutatis verbis atque sententiis!  
 thing (he did it), with changed words and sentences!

Quæ vero scripsisset accuratè que cogitate,  
 That indeed which he-had-written accurately and with-reflection,  
 vidi ea sic probari, ut  
 I-have-seen them 'to-be so 'approved, that 'they (seemed as if)  
 pervenirent ad laudem veterum scriptorum.  
 they-had-attained to the praise of ancient writers [to the praise

Ego non diligam hunc?

bestowed on ancient writers]. 'Shall I not 'love this (man)?  
 non admirer? non putem  
 not admire (him)? 'may-I not 'think (that I ought)  
 defendendum omni ratione? Atqui,  
 to defend (him) by all means (in my power)? Moreover,

sic accepimus a summis que eruditissimis  
 'we-have so 'learned from most-eminent and most-learned  
 hominibus studia et doctrina ceterarum rerum  
 men, (that) the studies and science of other things

constare et præceptis et arte, poëtam valere  
 consists both in-precepts and art, (that) the poet prevailed

naturâ ipsâ, et excitari viribus  
 (as such) by nature itself, and (that) he-was-excited by-the-vigour

mentis, et inflari quasi  
 of (his) mind, and (that) he-was-breathed-into [inspired] as-if

quodam divino spiritu. Quare suo jure ille  
 by-some divine spirit. Wherefore by-his-own right 'does this

noster Ennius appellat poëtas sanctos, quod  
our Ennius <sup>1</sup>call poets holy, because

videantur esse commendati nobis quasi aliquo dono  
they-seem to-be recommended to us as-if by-some gift

atque munere deorum. Igitur, iudices, hoc nomen  
and present of-the-Gods. <sup>1</sup>Let then, O judges, <sup>1</sup>his <sup>1</sup>name

poëtæ sit sanctum apud vos, homines humanissimos,  
of poet <sup>1</sup>be sacred with you, men (of) most cultivated

quod nulla barbaria unquam  
(minds), which (name of poet) no barbarous (nation) ever

violavit. Saxa et solitudines respondent voci;  
violated. Rocks and deserts reply to-the-voice

immanes bestiae sæpe flectuntur atque  
(of the poet); savage beasts <sup>1</sup>are often <sup>1</sup>turned aside and

consistunt cantu; nos, instituti optimis rebus,  
stand-still by song; we, formed to-the-best things [we who

non moveamur voce  
have received the best education], <sup>1</sup>may not <sup>1</sup>we-be-moved by-the-voice

poëtarum? Colophonii dicunt Homerum esse suum  
of the poets? The Colophonians say (that) Homer was their

civem, Chii vindicant suum, Salumnii  
citizen, the Chians claim (him as) their (citizen), the Salumnians

repetunt, Smyrnæi verò confirmant esse  
reclaim (him), the Smyrnians indeed assert (that) he-was

suum, itaque etiam dedicaverunt delubrum  
theirs, (and) therefore also they-have-dedicated a temple

ejus in oppido; permulti alii præterea  
of . . . in (their) town; a-great-many other (places) besides

pugnant atque contendunt inter  
fight and contend among

se.

themselves (for the honour of his birth-place).

9. Ergo expetunt alienum, quia fuit poëta,  
Therefore they-claim a stranger, because he-was a poet,

etiam post mortem; nos repudiamus hunc  
even after (his) death; shall we repudiate this (Archias)

vivum, qui est noster, et voluntate et legibus?  
alive, who is ours, both by (his) free will and by (our) laws?

præsertim cum olim Archias contulerit omne  
especially when heretofore Archias contributed all (his)

studium atque omne ingenium, ad celebrandum  
zeal and all (his) talents, to celebrating

gloriam que laudem Romani populi? Nam et  
the glory and praise of-the-Roman people? For also

adolescens attigit Cimbricas res,  
(when) a-young-man he-touched-on the Cimbrican affairs, on the wars

et fuit jucundus illi C.  
with the Cimbri], and was agreeable to [was in favour with] that C.

Mario ipsi, qui videbatur durior ad hæc  
Marius himself, who seemed (to be) very-insensible to such

studia. Neque enim est quisquam tam aversus a  
studies. Nor indeed is there any one so. averse to

Musis qui non facile patitur eternum præconium  
the Muses who 'would not readily 'suffer the eternal panegyric

suorum laborum mandari versibus. Aiunt  
of his labours to-be-committed to verse. They-say (that)

Themistoclem, illum summum virum Athenis, dixisse,  
Themistocles, that greatest of men in Athens, had said,

cum quæreretur ex eo, quod acroama, aut cujus  
when it-was-inquired of him, what player, or whose

vocem, libentissimè audiret; "ejus a quo  
voice, 'he-would most-willingly 'hear; "his by whom

sua virtus optimè prædicaretur." Itaque  
his virtue [exploits] 'might-be best 'celebrated." Therefore

illi Marius, item eximiè dilexit L. Plotium,  
this (same) Marius, also greatly loved L. Plotius,

cujus ingenio putabat ea, quæ gesserat,  
'by whose 'talents he thought that, which he-had-performed,

posse celebrari. Vero totum Mithridaticum bellum,  
could-be celebrated. But all the Mithridatic war,

magnum atque difficile, et versatum in multâ  
great and difficult (as it was), and carried-on in much

varietate terrâ que mari, expressum est ab  
diversity (of success) by-land and by-sea, has-been-related by

hoc; qui libri illustrant non modo  
this (Archias); which books (of poetry of his) shed-lustre-on not only

**L. Lucullum,** fortissimum et clarissimum virum,  
**L. Lucullus,** (that) most-brave and distinguished man,

verum etiam nomen Romani populi. Enim  
 but also (on) the name of-the-Roman people. For

Romanus populus, Lucullo imperante, aperuit Pontum  
 'the Roman people, Lucullus commanding, 'laid-open Pontus

vallatum quondam, et regiis opibus, et naturâ  
 defended hitherto, both by-the-royal resources, and by-the-nature

ipsâ regionis; exercitus Romani populi, eodem  
 itself of-the-country; the army of the Roman people, the same

duce, non maximâ manu fudit  
 (Lucullus) being general, 'with no 'very large force dispersed

innumerabiles copias Armeiorum; est laus Romani  
 countless forces of Armenians; it-is the glory of-the-Roman

populi, amicissimam urbem Cyzicenorum,  
 people, (that) the-most-friendly city of-the-Cyziceni,

consilio ejusdem esse ereptam atque  
 by the (wise) counsels of this-same (Lucullus) was delivered-from and

servatam ex omni regio impetu, ac ore  
 preserved from every royal attack, and from-the-mouth

ac faucibus totius belli;  
 and jaws of the whole war [from the perils of a destructive war];

semper feretur et prædicabitur  
 (the glory) 'will always be related and celebrated (as peculiarly)

nostra, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum classis  
 our-own, L. Lucullus fighting (as our general), when the fleet

hostium depressa, ducibus interfectis, et  
 of-the-enemy was sunk, the commanders (thereof) being slain, and

illæ incredibilis navalis pugna apud Tenedus;  
 that incredible naval battle at Tenedos; (these)

sunt nostra tropæa, nostra monumenta, nostri  
 are our trophies, our monuments, our

triumphi. Quare quorum ingeniis  
 triumphs. Therefore (I say that those men) 'by whose 'talents

hæc feruntur, ab  
 (these things) are-diffused [are spread out among the people], by

eiis fama Romani populi celebratur. Noster  
 them 'is the glory of-the-Roman people 'celebrated. Our-own



Ennius fuit carus superiori Africano; itaque  
 Ennius was dear to the elder African (Scipio); therefore  
 etiam is putatur esse constitutus e marmore  
 also he is-supposed to-have-been constituted of marble  
 in sepulchro Scipionum.  
 [to have been sculptured in marble] on the sepulchre of-the-Scipios.  
 At ejus laudibus certè non solùm ipsi, qui  
 But 'by his 'praises certainly not only those, who  
 laudantur, sed etiam nomen Romani populi  
 are-praised, but also the name of-the-Roman people  
 ornatur. Cato, proavus hujus  
 is honoured. Cato, the-great-grandfather of this (Cato, here present,)  
 tollitur in cœlum; magnus honos adjungitur rebus  
 is extolled to the skies; great honour is attached to-the-affairs  
 Romani populi. Denique, omnes illi Maximi,  
 of-the-Roman people. In-fine, all the Maximi,  
 Marcelli, Fulvii, decorantur, non sine  
 the Marcelli, (and) the Fulvii, are honoured, not without  
 communi laude nostrum omnium.  
 the common praise of-us all.

10. Ergo nostri majores receperunt illum,  
 Therefore our ancestors received him [Ennius],  
 qui fecerat hæc, hominem  
 who had-done this (who had written on these subjects) a man (of)  
 Rudinum in civitatem; nos ejiciemus  
 Rudiae in (their) city (as a citizen); 'shall we 'reject  
 hunc Heracleensem de nostrâ civitate,  
 this Heracleean [Archias] from our citizenship, (a man)  
 expetitur multis civitatibus, autem in hac  
 sought by many cities, but in this (our city)  
 constitutum legibus?  
 constituted (a citizen) 'by (our) 'laws?

Nam si quis putat minorem fructum gloriæ  
 For if any one thinks that a smaller harvest of glory  
 percipi ex Græcis versibus, quàm ex Latinis,  
 is-to-be-obtained from Greek verses, than from Latin verses,  
 vehementer errat; propterea quòd Græca leguntur  
 he greatly errs; because that Greek (works) are read

in fere omnibus gentibus, Latina continentur  
 among almost all nations, Latin (works) are confined  
 suis finibus, exiguis sane. Quare  
 to-their-own limits, (and these) small-enough without-doubt. Wherefore  
 si eæ res, quas gessimus definiuntur  
 if these things, which we-have-performed are-bounded (only)  
 regionibus orbis terræ, debemus  
 by-the-regions of-the-circle of-the-earth [by the whole world], we-ought  
 cupere, quò tela nostrarum manuum  
 to desire (that), whither the weapons of our hands  
 pervenerint, eodem gloriam que  
 may-have-reached, (that into) the same (place) (our) glory and  
 famam penetrare; quòd cum hæc sunt  
 renown 'should (also) 'penetrate; because while these (things) are  
 ampla ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur,  
 illustrious to those people, of whose affairs it-is-written  
 tum certè, hoc est  
 [whose exploits are the subjects of writing], then certainly, this is  
 maximum incitamentum, et periculorum  
 the greatest incitement (to the encountering), both of dangers  
 et laborum iis, qui dimicant de vitâ, causâ  
 and of labours to those, who fight for life, (and) the cause  
 gloriæ. Quam multos scriptores suarum rerum  
 of glory. How many writers of his exploits 'is  
 ille magnus Alexander dicitur habuisse cum se!  
 the great Alexander 'said to-have-had with him!  
 Atque is tamen, cum adstitisset ad tumulum Achillis  
 And he yet, when he-stood at the grave of Achillis  
 in Sigeo inquit, "O fortunate adolescens,  
 on (the promontory of) Sigeum said, "O fortunate young-man,  
 qui inveneris Homerum præconem tuæ virtutis."  
 who may-have-found a Homer the panegyrist of thy fame."  
 Et vere: nam nisi illa Ilias extitisset, idem  
 And truly: for if that Iliad 'had (not) 'existed, the same  
 tumulus, qui contexerat ejus corpus, etiam nomen,  
 grave, which covered his body, even the name  
 obruisset. Quid? nonne hic noster  
 (thereof), would-have-perished. What? 'did not this our-own

Magnus, qui, cum adæquavit fortunam  
 great (Pompey), who, when he-equalled (his) fortune  
 virtute donavit Theophanem  
 'by (his) 'virtue (and valour) grant Theophanes  
 Mitylenæum, scriptorem suarum rerum civitate  
 the Mitylenæan, the historian of his deeds the-rights-of-citizenship  
 in concione militum? et illi nostri fortes viri, sed  
 in an assembly of-the-soldiers? and those our brave men, but  
 rustici ac milites commoti quâdam dulcedine gloriæ,  
 rustics and soldiers moved by a certain charm of glory,  
 approbaverunt illud magno clamore, quasi particepes  
 approved it by a great shout, as-if participants  
 ejusdem laudis? Itaque credo si Archias non  
 of-the-same praise? Therefore I suppose if Archias 'had not  
 esset Romanus civis legibus, ut potuisset non  
 'been a Roman citizen by-the-laws, that 'he-could not  
 perficere donaretur  
 'have brought (it) to-pass (that) he should-be-presented  
 civitate ab aliquo imperatore!  
 with-the-rights-of-citizenship by some commander (of ours)!  
 Cum Sulla donaret Hispanos et Gallos,  
 When Sylla granted the Spaniards and the Gauls (the rights of  
 credo repudiasset hunc petentem!  
 citizenship), I suppose he would-have refused him petitioning  
 quem nos vidimus in  
 (for the citizenship)! whom [Sylla] we (ourselves) have-seen in  
 concione, cum malus poëta de populo  
 a-public-assembly, when a bad poet from (among) the people  
 subjecisset ei libellum, quòd fecisset epigramma,  
 had presented him a petition, because he-had-made an epigram  
 in eum, tantummodo alternis longiusculis  
 [a short poem], on him, only in alternate somewhat-longer  
 versibus, statim  
 verses [in alternate hexameters and pentameters], (that he) immediately  
 jubere præmium tribui ei, ex iis rebus, quas  
 ordered a present to-be-given to him, of those things, which  
 tunc vendebat, sub ea conditione,  
 'he-was then 'selling, under that condition, (that)

ne scriberet quid postea. Qui  
 he-should-not write any-thing, hereafter. (Would not he), who  
 duxerit sedulitatem mali poëtæ, tamen dignam  
 had-thought the industry of-a-bad poet, yet worthy (of)  
 aliquo præmio, expetisset ingenium et  
 some reward, have-sought-out (to honour) the talents and  
 virtutem et copiam in scribendo hujus? Quid?  
 ability and copiousness in writing of this (Archias)? What?

neque impetravisset a suo  
 'could-he neither 'have-obtained (the freedom of the city) from his  
 familiarissimo Q. Metello Pio, qui donavit  
 most intimate (friend) Q. Metello Pius, who had-granted

multos civitate, neque per se  
 many the-rights-of-citizenship, neither by himself [by his own request]  
 neque per Lucullos? qui præsertim usque  
 nor by Luculli? who [Metellus] especially so  
 eò cuperet scribi de suis rebus,  
 greatly desired to-be-written-on concerning his affairs, [to have his

ut etiam dederet suas aures  
 deeds commemorated] that 'he also gave his ears [attention]

poëtis natis Cordubæ, sonantibus quiddam  
 to poets born at Cordova, (though) uttering something

pingue atque peregrinum.  
 dull and barbarous.

11. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod  
 Nor indeed is that to-be-dissembled, which

potest non obscurari; sed ferendum præ nobis;  
 can not be-concealed; but is-to-be-brought before us

omnes trahimur studio  
 [but must be openly avowed] (that) 'we all 'are-drawn-on by-a-desire

laudis, et quisque optimus ducitur  
 of praise, and each best (person) [the best of us] 'is led

maximè gloriâ. Philosophi ipsi, etiam illis  
 chiefly by-glory. Philosophers themselves, also in-those

libellis, quos scribunt de gloriâ contemnendâ,  
 books, which they-write about glory to-be-despised,

inscribunt suum nomen;  
 on the contempt of glory] inscribe their names (in the books);



in eo ipso, in quo despiciunt prædicationem que  
 in the same (case) in which they-despise praise and  
 nobilitatem volunt prædicari de se, ac se  
 renown they-wish to be mentioned themselves, and themselves  
 nominari.

Quidem  
 named. [They desire to become notorious, and to be talked of]. Indeed

Decimus Brutus, ille summus vir et imperator,  
 Decimus Brutus, that great man and commander,

exornavit aditus suorum templorum ac  
 adorned the approaches of his temples and

monumentorum carminibus Attii sui amicissimi.  
 monuments with-the-verses of Attius his most-intimate-friend.

Jam vero, ille Fulvius, qui bellavit cum Ætolis,  
 (And) even also, that Fulvius, who fought with the Ætolians,

Ennio comite, non dubitavit consecrare  
 Ennius being (his) companion, 'did not 'hesitate to-consecrate

manubias Martis Musis. [Quare imperatores,  
 the spoils of-Mars to-the-Muses. Wherefore (when) generals,

in quâ urbe propè armati,  
 in any city nearly armed, [almost with arms in their hands],

coluerunt nomen poëtarum, et delubra Musarum,  
 revered the name of poets, and the temples of-the-Muses,

in eâ togati judices debent non abhorrere a  
 in this (city) civil judges ought not to-be-averse to the

honore Musarum et a salute poëtarum.  
 honour of-the-Muses and to the safety of-poets.

Atque, ut faciatis id libentius, jam  
 And, that you-may-do that the-more-willingly, 'I-will now  
 judices, indicabo me vobis, et  
 O judges, 'declare myself to you [reveal my feelings to you], and

confitebor vobis quodam de meo amore gloriæ,  
 I-will-confess to you something concerning my love of glory,

fortasse nimis acri, verumtamen honesto. Nam hic  
 perhaps too eager, but-yet honourable. For this

attigit atque inchoavit versibus  
 (Archias) touched on and has-begun (to celebrate) 'in (his) 'verse

res, quas nos gessimus in nostro consulatu,  
 he deeds, which we have-performed in our consulship,

simul cum vobis, pro salute hujus urbis, atque  
 together with you, for the safety of this city, and  
 imperii, et pro vitâ civium, que pro universâ  
 the empire, and for the life of-the-citizens, and for the entire  
 republica; quibus auditis, quòd visa est mihi  
 republic; which (verses) being heard, because it appeared to me  
 magna et jucunda res, hortatus sum hunc ad  
 a great and agreeable subject, I encouraged him to  
 perficiendum. Enim virtus desiderat nullam aliam  
 complete (it). For virtue desires no other  
 mercedem laborum que periculorum, præter hanc  
 reward of labours and dangers, except that  
 laudis et gloriæ; quâ quidem iudices detractâ,  
 of praise and renown; which indeed O judges being-taken-away,  
 quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo, et tam brevi  
 what is there, that in this so small, and so short  
 curriculo vitæ, exerceamus nos in tantis  
 a course of life, (that) we-should-exert ourselves in such  
 laboribus? Certe si animus præsentiret nihil in  
 labours? Certainly if the mind did-forebode nothing as respects  
 posterum, et si regionibus, quibus spatium vitæ est  
 the future, and if in-the-limits, in which the space of life is  
 circumscriptum, terminaret omnes suas cogitationes  
 circumscribed, it-should-bound all its thoughts  
 iisdem, nec frangeret se tantis  
 by-the-same, 'it would not break itself (down) by-such-great  
 laboribus, neque angeretur tot curis que  
 labours, neither would-it-be-tormented with-so-many cares and  
 vigiliis, neque toties dimicaret de vitâ ipsâ.  
 watchings, nor so-often would-it-contend for life itself.  
 Nunc quædam virtus insidet in quoque optimo, quæ  
 Now a certain virtue resides in every good-man, which  
 concitat animum noctes et dies stimulis gloriæ,  
 excites the mind night and day by-the-stimulus of glory,  
 atque admonet, commemorationem nostri  
 and reminds (it), (that) the remembrance of our  
 nominis esse non dimittendam cum tempore  
 name is not to-be-sent-away with the time of (our)

vitæ, sed adæquandam  
 life, [our name will not perish with our life], but is-to-be-made-equal  
 cum omni posteritate.  
 with all posterity. [Will be transmitted to the latest posterity.]

12. An vero omnes videamur esse tam parvi  
 'Do we then indeed all 'appear to be 'of such 'little  
 animi, qui versamur in republica,  
 mind, [so narrow minded,] who are occupied in the republic, [with  
 atque in his periculis que laboribus vitæ,  
 affairs of state,] and in these dangers and labours of life,  
 ut cum usque ad extremum spatium duxerimus  
 that when even to the extreme space (of life) we-have-drawn  
 nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum,  
 no tranquil and peaceful breath, (that)  
 arbitremur omnia moritura simul cum nobis?  
 we-should-think all things are-to-perish together with us?

An, cum multi summi homines studiosè  
 And-whether, when many great men 'have carefully  
 reliquerint statuas et imagines simulacra non  
 left-behind statues and images representations not  
 animorum, sed corporum, debemus non multò  
 of-the-mind, but of-the-body, 'ought not 'we much-more  
 malle relinquere effigiem nostrarum virtutum  
 to-prefer to-leave-behind (us) the effigy of our virtues  
 ac consiliorum expressam et politam  
 and 'of (our) deliberations expressed and elaborated  
 summis ingeniis? Ego vero arbitrabar, omnia,  
 by-the-greatest geniuses? I indeed thought, (that) all,  
 quæ gerebam, jam tum in gerendo,  
 which I-was-performing, already then in performing (them), (that)  
 me spargere ac disseminare in sempiternam  
 I was scattering and disseminating (them) for the eternal  
 memoriam orbis terræ.  
 recollection of the circle of-the-earth. [To be perpetually remembered

Sive hæc vero  
 throughout the whole world.] Whether this (remembrance) indeed  
 abfutura est a meo sensu post mortem, sive, ut  
 will-be-absent from my perception after death, or, as

sapientissimi homines putaverunt, pertinebit ad  
the-most-wise men have-thought, it-will-appertain to

aliquam partem mei. Nunc certe quidem delector  
some portion of myself. Now truly indeed I am delighted

quâdam cogitatione que spe.  
with-some-such thought and hope.

Quare, judices, conserve hominem eo pudore,  
Wherefore, O judges, preserve a man (of) such modesty

quem videtis comprobari  
(in his merit as Archias), which (merit) you-see approved

tum dignitate amicorum, tum etiam  
as-well by-the-dignity [high rank] 'of his 'friends, as also

vetustate; autém ingenio  
by-the-long-continuance (of their friendship); but (his) talent

tanto quantum convenit existimare id, quod  
being as great as it-may-be-accorded to appreciate it, which

videatis esse expetitur ingeniis summorum  
you-may-see, to-have-been sought by-the-talents of-the-greatest

hominum;

men; [his talents were highly estimated by illustrious men of the greatest

causa vero ejusmodi, quæ  
talents themselves,] (his) cause indeed (is one) of this kind, which

comprobetur beneficio legis, auctoritate  
may-be-established by-the-benefit of-the-law, by-the-authority

municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis  
of (his) 'municipality, by-the-testimony of-Lucullus, (and) by-the-registers

Metelli. Quæ cum sint ita,  
of Metellus. Which (things) when they-may-be so, [which being so,]

petimus a vobis, judices, si debet esse qua  
we-entreat of you, O judges, if there should be any

commendatio non modo humana, verum etiam divina  
commendation not only human, but also divine

in tantis negotiis, ut accipiatis eum sic in  
in such-great affairs, that you-would-receive him so in

vestram fidem, ut videatur esse levatus  
your faith, [protection,] that he-may-seem to be relieved

vestrâ humanitate, potius quàm violatus  
by-your kindness, rather than injured by (your)



acerbitate, qui semper ornavit vos, qui  
severity, (he) who 'has always 'adorned you, who (has celebrated)

vestros imperatores, qui res  
your commanders, who has (commemorated) the-things

gestas Romani populi, qui etiam profitetur  
performed [the exploits] of-the-Roman people, who also promised

se esse daturum æternum testimonium laudum,  
(that) he is to give an eternal testimony of praises,

his nostris recentibus, que vestris domesticis  
in-these our recent, and your domestic

periculis, que qui est eo numero, qui  
dangers, and who is in that number, (of poets), who 'have

semper sunt habiti atque dicti sancti apud omnes.  
always 'been-held and called holy among all (nations).

Quæ de causâ dixi pro meâ  
Which (things) in relation (to) the cause I-have-related according to my

consuetudine, iudices, breviter que simpliciter, confido  
custom, O judges, briefly and simply, (and) I trust

ea probata esse omnibus, quæ  
(that) those (things) have-been-approved by all (of you), which

locutus sum non consuetudine fori, neque judiciali,  
I-have-spoken not in accordance with-the-bar, nor judicial

et de ingenio hominis, et communiter  
(practice), both concerning the talents of-the-man, and in-general

de ipsius studio, ea, iudices, spero esse  
respecting his studies, these (things), O judges, I-hope to-have-been

accepta in bonam partem; certe scio  
received in good part; 'I certainly 'know (they) (will be)

ab eo, qui exercet iudicium.

by him, who exercises judicature. [Who presides at this trial.]

ORATIO  
THE ORATION  
M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,

PRO  
FOR

M. MARCELLO.  
M. MARCELLUS.



1. HODIERNUS dies, conscripti patres, attulit  
This day, conscript fathers, has-brought  
finem diuturni silentii, quo  
an end [has made an end] 'of (my) 'long silence, in which  
his temporibus eram usus, non  
in these times I-have-made-use-of, [have indulged in,] not  
aliquo timore, sed partim dolore, partim  
from-any fear, but partly from-sorrow, partly  
veracundiâ; que idem initium dicendi,  
from-modesty; and at-the-same-time the commencement of saying,  
meo pristino more, quæ vellem, que quæ sentirem.  
in-my ancient manner, what I-might-wish, and what I-might-think

Enim nullo modo possum præterire tacitus  
(on affairs). For in-no wise can-I pass-over silent  
tantam masuetudinem, tam inusitatam que inauditam  
such-great humanity, such unusual and unheard-of  
clementiam, tantum modum omnium rerum, in  
clemency, such-great moderation (in) all things, in  
summâ potestate, denique,  
the highest power, [when possessed of unlimited power,] in-fine,  
tam incredibilem ac pæne divinam sapientiam. Enim  
such incredible and nearly divine wisdom. For

M. Marcello reddito, conscripti patres, vobis quæ  
 M. Marcellus being-restored, O conscript fathers, to you and  
 reipublicæ, puto non solum illius vocem et  
 to-the-republic, I-think (that) not only his voice and  
 auctoritatem, sed etiam meam conservatam ac  
 authority, but also mine is preserved and  
 restitutam, et vobis et reipublicæ.  
 restored, both to-you and to-the-republic.

Enim dolebam, conscripti patres, et vehementer  
 For I grieved, O conscript fathers, and 'was vehemently  
 angebar, cum viderem talem virum, in eâdem  
 'distressed, when I-saw such a man, (who was) in the same  
 causâ, in quâ ego fuisset, non esse in eâdem  
 cause, in-which I had-been, not to-be in the same  
 fortunâ:

nec poteram  
 fortune: [not enjoying the same good fortune with myself,] nor could-I

persuadere mihi, nec ducebam esse fas  
 persuade myself, nor did-I-think that it was right (that)

me versari in nostro veteri curriculo, illo æmulo  
 I should-be-engaged in our old career, he the rival

atque imitatore meorum studiorum ac laborum  
 and imitator of-my studies and labours (and)

quasi quodam socio et comite distracto a me.  
 as-it-were an associate and companion being-torn from me.

Et ergo, C. Cæsar, aperuisti mihi consuetudinem  
 And therefore, O C. Cæsar, you-have-opened to-me the habits

meæ pristinæ vitæ, interclusam et  
 of-my former life, (which) were-closed-on (me), and

sustulisti quasi aliquod signum omnibus his  
 you-have-raised as (it were) a standard for-all those

ad sperandum benè de cuncta republica.  
 (here present) to hope well concerning the entire republic.

Enim intellectum est mihi, in multis, et  
 For it-was-made-apparent to me, in many (instances), and

maxime in me ipso, sed paulo antè omnibus,  
 principally in my myself, (and) but a little before (now) to all

cum concessisti M. Marcellum senatui  
 (here present), when you-granted M. Marcellus to-the-senate

que Romano populo, præsertim commemoratis  
 and to-the-Roman people, especially (after) having-made-mention  
 offensionibus, te anteferre auctoritatem hujus  
 (of his) offences, (that) you would-prefer the authority of this  
 ordinis, que dignitatem reipublicæ, vel tuis  
 order, [the senate] and the dignity of-the-republic, either to-your  
 doloribus vel suspicionibus.  
 resentments or suspicions.

Ille quidem hodierno die cepit maximum  
 He (Marcellus) indeed to-day received the greatest  
 fructum omnis anteactæ vitæ, cum summo  
 reward of all (his) past life, as-well by-the-unanimous  
 consensu senatûs, tum præterea tuo gravissimo  
 consent of the senate, as moreover in your [Cæsar's] most-solemn  
 et maximo judicio. Ex quo profectò intelligis,  
 and supreme judgment. From this indeed you (may)  
 quanta sit laus in beneficio  
 understand, how-great is the renown (to you) in (this) benefit  
 dato, cum sit tanta  
 conferred, [by granting Marcellus this kindness] when there is so-much  
 gloria in accepto. Ille vero est fortunatus,  
 glory (to him) in receiving (it). He indeed is fortunate,  
 ex salute cujus non pæne minor lætitia  
 from the safety of whom not scarcely less joy  
 pervenerit ad omnes, quàm ventura sit ad ipsum.  
 will accrue to all, than may arrive to himself.

Quod quidem  
 [Than he himself may feel, when he hears it.] Which (favour) indeed  
 contigit ei meritò, atque optimo jure. Enim  
 has-happened to-him deservedly, and with-the-best right. For  
 quis est præstantior illo aut nobilitate,  
 who is more-excellent (than) he either in nobility (of birth),  
 aut probitate, aut studio optimarum  
 or probity, or the zealous (cultivation) of-the-most-liberal  
 artium, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere  
 arts, or in purity-of-life, or in any kind  
 laudis.  
 of-praiseworthy-actions.



## 2. Tantum flumen ingenii est nullius,

Such a stream of genius is of no-one, [no one possesses  
 tanta vis tanta copia dicendi  
 such a flow of genius,] such power and such copiousness of-speaking

aut scribendi nullius, quæ, non dicam  
 or of-writing (has) no-one, which, 'I-will not 'say

exornare, sed C. Cæsar possit  
 to-embellish, but (even) O C. Cæsar (that) he-might-be-able

enarrare tuas res gestas. Tamen affirmo (et tua  
 to-relate your exploits. However I assert (and with your

pace dicam hoc,) nullam laudem esse  
 permission I-will-say this,) (that) no renown is

ampliores in his, quàm eam, quam  
 more-glorious in these (exploits) than that, which

consecutus es hodierno die. Soleo sæpe ponere  
 you-have-acquired this day. I-am-accustomed often to place

ante oculos, que libenter usurpare id  
 (this) before (my) eyes, and willingly to-maintain it

crebris sermonibus, omnes res gestas nostrorum  
 in frequent conversations, (that) all the deeds of-our

imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, que  
 commanders, all (those) of foreign nations, and

potentissimorum populorum, omnes clarissimorum  
 of-the-most-powerful people, all (those) of-the-most-celebrated

regum, posse conferri cum tuis, nec magnitudine  
 kings, can-be-compared with yours, neither in-the-greatness

contentionum, nec numero præliorum, nec varietate  
 of-the-contests, nor in-the-number of-the-battles, nor in-the-variety

regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec  
 of-the-countries, nor in-the-celerity of-performing, nor

dissimilitudine bellorum; nec vero  
 in-the-diversity (of character) of-the-wars; nor indeed (that)

disiunctissimas terras potuisse peragrari  
 the-most-widely-separated countries could-have been-travelled-over

citiùs passibus cujusquam, quàm, non  
 more-rapidly by-the-footsteps of-any-one, than, 'I-will not

dicam, lustratæ sint cursibus. sed  
 'say, may-have-been-passed-through by-(your)-marches, but  
 victoriis.  
 by-(your)-victories.

Quæ quidem nisi ego fatear esse  
 Which (things) indeed unless I should confess (that) they-are  
 ita magna, ut vix mens aut cogitatio cujusquam  
 so great, that scarcely the mind or imagination of-any-one  
 possit capere ea, sim amens; sed tamen  
 could comprehend them, I-would-be devoid-of-reason; but yet  
 sunt alia majora. Nam quidam solent  
 there-are other (things) greater. For some are-accustomed  
 extenuare verbis bellicas laudes, que  
 to-depreciate by (their) words [by their remarks] military praises, and  
 detrahere eas ducibus, communicare  
 to-detract those (praises) from-the-generals, (and) to share (them)  
 cum multis, ne sint  
 with the many, [with the soldiers,] (so that) they 'may not 'be  
 propriæ imperatorum. Et certe, in armis  
 the peculiar (right) of-the-commanders. And certainly, in military-affairs  
 virtus militum, opportunitas locorum,  
 the bravery of-the-soldiers, the opportunity of-the-places, [advantage of  
 auxilia sociorum, classes commeatus juvant  
 position,] the assistance of allies, fleets (and) supplies help  
 multum; vero Fortuna vindicat sibi maximam  
 much; but Fortune claims for herself (in war) the greatest  
 partem, quasi suo jure; et quidquid  
 part (of success), as her-own right; and whatever  
 est gestum prosperè, ducit id pæne omne  
 has-been-done successfully, she-considers it almost all  
 suum.  
 her-own (work).

At vero, C. Cæsar, habes neminem socium hujus  
 But truly, O C. Cæsar, you-have no-one (as) a partner of this  
 gloriæ, quam es adeptus paulo antè. Totum  
 glory, which you-have-obtained a little before. [Just now.] All  
 hoc, quantumcunque est, (quod certe maximum),  
 this, how-(great)-soever it is, (and which certainly (is) very great),

est totum, inquam, tuum. Centurio decerpit nihil  
 is all, I-say, yours. The centurion plucks nothing from  
 ista laude sibi, præfectus nihil, cohors  
 this renown for himself, the prefect (of cavalry) nothing, the cohort  
 nihil, turma nihil. Quin etiam  
 (of infantry) nothing, the troop (of cavalry) nothing. Nay even  
 Fortuna, illa ipsa domina humanarum rerum, — non  
 Fortune, that same mistress of-human affairs, does not  
 offert se in societatem istius gloriæ,  
 present herself in the society of-this glory (as a participant thereof),  
 cedit tibi; fatetur esse totam et propriam  
 she cedes (all) to you; she confesses (that) it is all and peculiarly  
 tuam. Enim nunquam temeritas commiscetur cum  
 yours. For never 'is rashness 'mingled with  
 sapientiâ, nec casus admittitur ad consilium.  
 wisdom, nor 'is chance 'admitted to the-counsels (of prudence).

3. Domuisti gentes barbaras immanitate,  
 You-have-conquered nations barbarous 'by (their) 'ferocity,  
 innumerabiles multitudine, infinitas locis,  
 countless 'in (their) 'numbers, immense (as respects) space,  
 abundantes omni genere copiarum; sed tamen  
 abounding in all kinds of-resources; but yet  
 vicisti ea, quæ habebant naturam et  
 you-conquered those (things), which had the nature and  
 conditionem, ut possent vinci; enim est  
 condition, that they-might be-conquered; for there-is  
 nulla vis tanta, quæ possit non debilitari que  
 no strength so-great, which may not be-weakened and  
 frangi ferro ac viribus. Vincere animum, cohibere  
 broken by-arms and force. To-conquer the mind, to-repress  
 iracundiam, temporare victoriam, non modo extollere  
 anger, to-temper victory, not only to-raise-up  
 jacentem adversarium præstantem nobilitate, ingenio  
 a prostrate foe excelling in-noble-birth, talents  
 virtute, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam  
 (and) virtue, but also to-enlarge his former  
 dignitatem; qui faciat hæc, ego non comparo eum  
 dignity; who does this, I 'do not 'compare him

cum summis viris, sed judico simillimum  
 with the-most-illustrious men, but think (him as) most

Deo.

like to God.

Itaque, C. Cæsar, illæ tuæ bellicæ laudes  
 Therefore, O C. Cæsar, those your warlike praises

celebrabuntur quidem non solum nostris literis atque  
 will-be-celebrated indeed not only in-our literature and

linguis, sed pæne omnium gentium; neque  
 language, but (in that) 'of almost 'all nations; nor

unquam ulla ætas conticescet de tuis laudibus. Sed  
 'will ever any age 'be-silent about your praise. But

tamen res ejusmodi, nescio quomodo, etiam cum  
 yet things of-this-kind, I-know-not how, even when

leguntur, videntur obstrepi clamore  
 they-are-read, appear to-be-overpowered (in noise) by-the-shouts

militum, et sono tubarum. At vero, cum  
 of-the-soldiers, and by-the-sound of-the-trumpet. But indeed, when

aut audimus, aut legimus aliquid factum  
 either we-hear, or read (that) something has-been-done

clementer, mansuete, juste, moderate, sapienter,  
 elemently, humanely, justly, moderately (and) wisely,

(præsertim in iracundiâ, quæ est inimica  
 (especially in anger, which is inimical 'to (prudent)

consilio, et in victoriâ, quæ naturâ est insolens et  
 'counsel, and in victory, which by nature is insolent and

superba); quo studio incendimur, non modo in  
 haughty); with what ardour are-we-inflamed, not only in

res gestas, sed etiam in fictis, ut  
 things (actually) performed, but even in fictitious (things), that

sæpe diligamus eos, quos nunquam vidimus!  
 often we-love those, whom 'we-have never 'seen!

Vero te, quem intuemur præsentem, cujus  
 But you, whom we-behold (here) present, whose

mentem que sensus cernimus eos, ut  
 mind and feelings we-perceive them (to be such), that

quidquid fortuna belli reliquum fecerit reipublicæ,  
 all-that the fortune of war may-have-left to-the-republic,



velis id esse saluum, quibus  
you-wish that to-be safe (and secured to the republic), with-what

laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur?  
praises shall-we-extol (you)? with-what zeal shall-we-follow

quâ benevolentia complectemur?  
(you)? with-what affection shall-we-embrace (you)?

Parietes hujus curiæ, me dius fidius  
The (very) walls of this senate-house, may Jupiter help me [most as-

surely] (ut videntur mihi) gestiunt agere gratias tibi,  
(as they seem to me) exult to return thanks to you,

quod brevi tempore illa auctoritas  
because in-a-short time that authority (of the senate)

futura sit, in et his suis  
will-hereafter-be, [will be restored] in both these their [the senators']

sedibus suorum majorum.  
seats, (and that) of their ancestors.

#### 4. Equidem cum viderem modo cum vobis

Indeed when I saw just-now with you [senators]

lacrymas C. Marcelli, optimi viri, et præditi  
the tears of C. Marcellus, a most-excellent man, and endowed

commemorabili pietate, memoria omnium  
with-recommendable affection (for his brother), the recollection of all

Marcellorum obfudit meum pectus. M. Marcello  
the Marcelli gushed over my heart. M. Marcello

conservato, tu reddidisti suam dignitatem etiam  
being-preserved, you [Cæsar] have restored their dignity even

quibus mortuis; que vindicâsti  
(to those Marcelli) who are-dead; and you-have-saved

nobilissimam familiam, jam redactam ad paucos  
a-most-noble family, now reduced to few

pæne ab interitu. Tu igitur jure  
(in number) nearly from perishing. You therefore with-right

antepones hunc diem tuis maximis et innumerabilibus  
will-prefer this day to your greatest and countless

gratulationibus. Enim hæc res est propria  
congratulations. For this affair is the peculiar (right)

Cæsaris unius; ceteræ gestæ, te duce,  
of Cæsar alone other deeds, you being the general, (though)

illæ magnæ quidem, sed tamen  
they (were) great indeed, but yet (were performed)

multo que magno comitatu. Autem tu  
with a numerus and great train (of associates). But you

es idem et dux et comes hujus rei;  
are at-the-same-time both general and associate of this affair

quæ quidem est tanta, ut  
(of pardoning Marcellus); which indeed is so-great, that (though  
ætas allatura sit finem tuis tropæis que monumentis,  
age may-bring an end to your trophies and monuments,

(enim est nihil factum opere aut manu  
(for (there) is nothing made by labour or by the hand (of man)

quod aliquando vetustas non conficiat  
which some-time-or-another length-of-time 'may not 'dissipate

et consumat); at vero hæc tua justitia et lenitas  
and consume); but yet-indeed this your justice and lenity

animi quotidie florescet magis, ita ut  
of mind 'will every day 'become more 'celebrated, so that

quantum diuturnitas detrahet tuis operibus,  
as much as-length-of-time will-detract from your deeds,

tantum afferat laudibus. Et quidem  
so-much may-it-add (to your) glory. And indeed

viceras omnes ceteros victores civilium  
as-you-may-have-surpassed all other conquerers (in) the civil

bellorum jam ante æquitate et  
wars now before [that have happened before now] in equity and

misericordiâ, vero hodierno die vicisti te ipsum.  
mercy, but this day you-have-surpassed yourself.

Vereor, ne hoc, quod dicam, possit non perinde  
I-fear, lest that, which I-say, may not equally-as-well

intelligi auditu,  
be understood by the hearing, [by those only hearing it mentioned],

atque ipse sentio cogitans. Videris  
as I-myself feel (it, when) reflecting (thereon). You-appear

vicisse victoriam ipsam, cum remisisti  
to-have-conquered victory herself, when you-have-remitted

victis ea, quæ illa erat adepta.  
so-the-conquered those things, which she had obtained (for you)

Nam cum conditione victoriae ipsius omnes  
 For when by-the-conditions of victory self 'we all (who were)  
 victi jure occidissemus,  
 conquered 'might by right 'have-fallen (by the sword, or been ruined  
 sumus conservati judicio tuæ  
 in our estates), we-have-been-preserved by-the-judgment of your  
 clementiæ. Recte igitur unus  
 clemency. [By your merciful decision.] Rightly therefore (you) alone  
 es invictus, a quo etiam conditio que vis victoriae  
 are unconquered, by whom even the conditions and power of victory  
 ipsius devicta est.  
 self have-been-conquered.

5. Atque conscripti patres, attendite quàm late  
 And O-conscript fathers, observe how far  
 hoc judicium C. Cæsaris pateat; enim omnes,  
 this decision of-C. Cæsar may extend; for all, 'we,  
 qui sumus compulsi ad illa arma,  
 who 'were compelled (in) that (civil) war (to take up arms),  
 nescio quo misero que funesto fato  
 I-know-not by-what miserable and fatal destiny  
 reipublicæ, etsi tenemur aliquâ culpâ humani  
 of-the-republic, although we-are-charged with some fault of-human  
 erroris, certe liberati sumus a scelere. Nam,  
 error, 'we certainly 'are liberated from crime. For,  
 cum, vobis deprecantibus, sconservavit M. Marcellum  
 when, you entreating, he preserved M. Marcellus  
 reipublicæ; reddidit memet mihi, et iterum  
 to-the-republic (also); he restored me to-myself, and once-more  
 reipublicæ, nullo deprecante,  
 to-the-republic, no-one entreating (for me), (he also restored)  
 reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsis et  
 those-other illustrious men both to themselves and 'to (their)  
 patriæ; quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem  
 'country; whose both numerous-concourse and dignity  
 videtis in hoc ipso consessu. Ille non induxit  
 you see in this same assembly. He 'has not 'brought (any)  
 hostes in curiam; sed judicavit,  
 enemies into the-senate-house (by this); but he-has-decided (that);

bellum esse susceptum a plerisque potius  
the war was undertaken by the-most (of them) rather

ignoratione et falso atque  
from-want-of-knowledge (of his real intentions) and from a false and

inani metu, quàm cupiditate aut crudelitate.  
groundless fear (of him), than from cupidity or from-the-cruelty

In quo bello quidem semper putavi  
(of revenge). In which war indeed 'I always 'have-thought

de pace audiendum, que semper  
(that proposals) respecting peace ought-to-be-listened-to, and 'I always

dolui non modo pacem, sed orationem etiam  
grieved (that) not only peace, but the entreaties even

civium flagitantium pacem repudiari. Enim ego  
of citizens earnestly-begging (for) peace should-be-rejected. For I

unquam secutus sum neque illa, nec ulla  
never followed [took a part in] either (in) these, or any

civilia arma; que semper mea consilia fuerunt socia  
civil war; and always my counsels were-associated

pacis et togæ, non  
(with) peace and the-gown, [civil affairs and pursuits,] not (with)

belli atque armorum. Secutus sum hominem  
war and arms. I-followed the man [Pompey]

privato officio, non publico; que  
from (a sense of) private duty, not public; and

tantum fidelis memoria grati animi valuit  
so-great 'did the faithful remembrance of a grateful mind 'prevail

apud me, ut non modo nullâ cupiditate,  
over me, that (there was) not only (through) no desire

sed quidem ne spe, prudens  
(of advantage), but indeed not (even through) hope, prudent

et sciens ruerem ad voluntarium interitum.  
and knowing I-rushed-on to voluntary destruction.

Quòd quidem meum consilium fuit

And indeed my views were (on this subject) (not)

minime obscurum. Nam et in hoc ordine,  
in-the-least dissembled. For also in this order (of the senate),

rê integrâ, dixi multa  
the thing being entire, [the war not having yet broken out] I-said much



de pace; et in bello ipso sensi eadem,  
 concerning peace; and in the war itself 'I-was-of the same 'opinion.  
 etiam cum periculo mei capitis. Ex quo nemo  
 even with the-risk of-my life. From which no-one.  
 erit jam tam injustus existimator rerum, qui  
 'would now 'be so unjust a judge of-things, who  
 dubitet, quæ fuerit Cæsaris voluntas de  
 might doubt, what may-have-been Cæsar's intentions respecting  
 bello, cum statim censuerit auctores pacis  
 the war, when 'he immediately 'thought (that) the advisers of peace  
 conservandos, ceteris fuit irrior.  
 ought-to-be-preserved, (but) with-the-others he-was more-irritated.  
 Atque fortasse id minus mirum tum, cum exitus  
 And perhaps is (was) less strange then, when the-resul:  
 esset incertus, et fortuna belli anceps; vero  
 might-be uncertain, and the fortune of-war doubtful; but (he)  
 qui, victor, diligit auctores pacis, is profecto  
 who, a conqueror, loves the advisers of peace, he certainly  
 declarat se maluisse non dimicare, quàm  
 declares (that) he would-rather not have-fought, than  
 vincere.

have conquered. [That he would always have preferred peace to civil war.]

6. Atque sum quidem testis hujus rei  
 And I am indeed a witness (as respects) this thing  
 M. Marcello. Enim nostri sensus, ut semper  
 for M. Marcellus. For our opinions, as 'they always  
 congruebant in pace, sic etiam tum in bello. Quoties  
 'agreed in peace, so even when in war. How-often  
 ego vidi eum, et cum quanto dolore,  
 'have I 'seen him, and with what great grief,  
 extimescentem cum insolentiam certorum hominum,  
 dreading as-well the insolence of certain men,  
 tum etiam ferocitatem victoriae ipsius! Quò,  
 as also the ferocity of victory self! Wherefore,  
 O. Cæsar, tua liberalitas debet esse gratior  
 O C. Cæsar, your liberality ought to be the-more-agreeable  
 nobis, qui vidimus illa. Enim jam  
 to us, who have-seen these (things). For now

causæ

the causes (of the two parties, namely, that of Pompey and Cæsar, 'are

non sunt comparandæ inter se, sed  
not 'to-be-compared (or discussed) among themselves, but

victoriæ.

Vidimus

(the use that would be made) of victory (by each, may be). We-have seen

tuam victoriam terminatam exitu præliorum;  
your victory terminated with-the-result 'of (your) 'battles;

non vidimus gladium vacuum vaginâ, in urbe.  
'we-have not 'seen the sword unsheathed, in the city.

Cives, quos amisimus, vis Martis perculit eos  
The citizens, whom we-have-lost, the force of Mars 'struck them

non irâ victoriæ; ut nemo  
'down [they fell in battle] not by-the-fury of victory; so-that no-one

debeat dubitare quin C. Cæsar, si posset fieri,  
ought to doubt but-that C. Cæsar, if it-could-have been-done,

excitaret multos ab inferis; quoniam conservat  
would-have-raised many from the dead; since he-preserves

ex eâdem acie quos potest. Vere  
from that-same army (of Pompey) (those) whom he-can. But

alterius partis, dicam nihil amplius,  
(as respects) the other party (of Pompey), I-will-say nothing more,

quàm (id quod omnes verebamur) victoriam  
than (that which 'we all 'feared) (that) victory

futuram fuisse nimis iracundam. Enim quidam  
would-have-been too revengeful. For some

minabantur non modo armatis, sed  
threatened not only (their) armed (opponents), but

interdum etiam otiosis;  
sometimes also (those who were) quiet, (and 'got no part in the

dicebant cogitandum esse, nec quid  
contest); they-said (that) it-was-to-be-considered, not what

quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset; ut quidem  
each-one might-think, but where he-had-been; that indeed

immortales Dii videantur mihi (etiâmsi expetiverint  
the immortal Gods seem to me (even-though they-may-have

pœnas a Romano populo, ob aliquod  
inflicted punishment on the Roman people, on-account-of some

delictum, qui excitaverint tantum et tam luctuosum  
 offence, who stirred-up so-great and so mournful a  
 civile bellum) vel jam placati, vel aliquand  
 civil war) 'are either now 'appeased, or at-length  
 satiati, contulisse omnem spem salutis  
 satiated, (and that) they-have-brought all (our) hope of safety  
 ad clementiam et sapientiam victoris.  
 to (depend on) the clemency and wisdom of-the-conqueror.

Quare gaude isto tuo tam excellenti bono;  
 Wherefore rejoice in-this your so excellent a privilege;  
 et fruire cum fortunâ et gloriâ, tum etiam  
 and enjoy as well (your) fortune and glory, as also (your)  
 naturâ, et tuis moribus; ex quo quidem  
 kind-disposition, and your amiable-manners; from which indeed  
 est maximus fructus que jucunditas sapienti.  
 there is the greatest fruit and pleasure to-the-wise-man.

Cum recordabere tua cetera,  
 When you-call-to-your-recollection your other (actions of life),  
 etsi persæpe congratulabere virtuti,  
 although you 'will very-often 'congratulate (yourself on your) valour,  
 tamen plerumque tuæ felicitati.  
 yet often (you will have to thank) your good-fortune.

Quoties cogitabis de nobis, quos voluisti esse  
 As-often-as you-shall-think of us, whom you-have-wished to be  
 salvos in republicâ simul cum te, toties  
 safe in the republic together with yourself, so-often  
 cogitabis de tuis maximis beneficiis,  
 you-will-think of your very-great favours (bestowed on us),

toties de incredibili liberalitate, toties  
 so-often-will-you-think of (your) incredible liberality, so-often  
 de tua singulari sapientiâ; quæ audebo dicere  
 of your unexampled wisdom; which I-will-venture to say (are)  
 non modo summa bona, sed nimirum vel  
 not only (your) greatest goods, but certainly even (your)  
 sola. Enim tantus est splendor in verâ laude,  
 only. For so great is the splendour in true praise,  
 tanta dignitas in magnitudine animi et  
 so great (is the) dignity in greatness of mind and

consilii, ut hæc videantur esse donata a virtute,  
of counsel, that these appear to-be-given by virtue,

cetera commodata a fortunâ. Noli igitur  
the others confided by fortune. Do-not therefore

defatigari in conservandis bonis viris lapsis,  
become-wearied in preserving good men fallen,

præsertim non cupiditate, aut aliquâ pravitate,  
especially not by cupidity, or any depravity

sed opinione officii, fortasse stulta,  
(of disposition), but by a sense of duty, perhaps foolish, (but)

certe non improba, et quâdam specie  
certainly not wicked, and by-a-certain appearance (of duty)

reipublicæ. Enim est non ulla culpa tua, si aliqui  
to-the-republic. For it is not any fault (of) yours, if some

timuerunt te; que contra summa laus,  
feared you; and on-the-contrary (it is your) greatest praise,

quòd plerique senserunt timen-  
that the-most have-become-sensible (that) you-were (not)

dum fuisse minime.

to-have-been-feared in-the-smallest (degree).

7. Vero nunc venio ad tuam gravissimam querelam,

But now I come to your most-heavy complaint,

et atrocissimam suspicionem; quæ est providenda,  
and severe suspicion; which is to-be-guarded-against

non magis tibi ipsi, quam cum omnibus civibus,  
not the more for-you yourself, than also for-all the citizens,

tum maxime nobis, qui sumus conservati a  
then more-especially for-ourselves, who have-been preserved by

te; quam etsi spero esse falsam,  
you; which (suspicion) though I-hope (that it) is false,

tamen nunquam extenuabo verbis. Enim  
yet 'I-will never 'extenuate (it) by (my) words. For

tua cautio est nostra cautio; ut si  
your caution (for yourself) is our caution; (so) that if

pecandum sit in alterutro, malim videri  
it-may-be-erred in on-either (side), I-would-rather seem-to-be

nimis timidus, quàm parum prudens. Sed  
too timid, than too-little prudent. [imprudent.] But



quisnam est iste tam demens? ne de tuis?  
 who is this-one so senseless? whether (is he) of your-own

tametsi qui sunt magis tui, quàm  
 (friends)? and-yet who are more your (friends), than (those)  
 quibus insperantibus tu reddidisti salutem? an  
 to whom without-hoping-for-it you have-restored safely? or-any

ex eo numero, qui fuerunt unà cum te?  
 from-among that number, who had-been together-with you (in the

Est non credibilis tantus furor  
 war)? It-is not credible (that there should be) such madness

in ullo, ut, quo duce sit  
 in any-one, that (the general), through which general he-may-have

adeptus summa omnia, non anteponat  
 attained the height (of) all (his wishes), 'he-should not 'prefer

hujus vitam suæ. At si tui cogitant  
 this (general's) life to-his-own. But if your (friends) think (or plan)

nihil sceleris, cavendum est,  
 nothing of wickedness (against you), I-suppose-it-must-be-cared-for,

ne inimici quid. Qui?  
 lest (your) enemies (might do) any-thing (against you). Who (are they)?

Enim omnes, qui fuerunt aut amiserunt  
 For all, who were (your enemies), 'have either 'lost

vitam suâ pertinaciâ, aut retinuerunt  
 (their) lives by-their obstinacy, or they-preserved (them)

tuâ misericordiâ; ut aut nulli de inimicis  
 by-your mercy; so-that either none of (your) enemies

supersint, aut, qui superfuerunt sint  
 remain, or (those), who have-remained are (your)

amicissimi.  
 next-devoted-friends.

Sed tamen, cum sint in animis hominum tantæ  
 But however, as there are in the minds of men so many

latebræ, et tanti recessus, augeamus  
 hiding-places, and so-many (secret) recesses, let-us-increase

sane tuam suspicionem, enim simul augebimus  
 then your suspicion, for at-the-same-time we-shall-increase

diligentiam. Nam quis est, tam  
 (your) diligence (and circumspection). For who is there, so

ignarus omnium rerum, tam rudis in  
 ignorant of all things, so unskilled in (the affairs of)  
 republica, tam nihil cogitans unquam nec  
 the republic, so thoughtless (as) never (to reflect) either  
 de suâ salute, nec de communi, qui  
 about his-own safety, or about the common (safety), who 'does  
 non intelligat suam contineri tuâ salute,  
 not 'understand (that) his-own (safety) is comprised in-your safety,  
 et ex tuâ vitâ unius pendere omnium?  
 and (that) on your life alone depends (the lives) of all?

Equidem, cogitans de te (ut debeo) dies que noctes,  
 In truth, thinking of you (as I ought) day and night,

extimesco duntaxat humanos casus,  
 I fear only (those) human accidents (to which all are

et incertos eventus valetudinis, et  
 subject), and the uncertain events of-health, and

fragilitatem communis naturæ; que doleo  
 the weakness 'of (our) 'common nature; and I-grieve (that)

cum respublica debeat esse immortalis, eam  
 while the republic ought to be immortal, (that) it

consistere in animâ unius mortalis. Vero si ad  
 depends on the life of-one mortal (man). But if to

humanos casus, que incertos eventus  
 human accidents (of life), and the uncertain events

valetudinis, accedit consensio sceleris que  
 of health, there-is-added the conspiracy of crime and

insidiarum, quem Deum credamus posse opitulari  
 treachery, then what God might we-think could assist

reipublicæ, si cupiat.  
 the republic, (even) if he-desire (to do so).

8. Omnia, quæ, C. Cæsar, sentis jacere percussa

All things, which, O C. Cæsar, you perceive to lie knocked-down

atque prostrata impetu belli ipsius, (quod fuit  
 and prostrated by-the-violence of war itself, (which was

necesse) sunt excitanda tibi;  
 necessarily so) (all these) are to-be-raised-up by you;

judicia constituenda  
 the-tribunals-of-justice are-to-be-established (on their ancient footing)

fides revocanda, libidines comprimendæ,  
confidence is-to-be-restored, licentiousness is-to-be-repressed,

soboles propaganda; omnia quæ jam dilapsa,  
population is-to-be-increased; all-things, which now fallen-to-pieces,

fluxerunt, vincienda sunt  
(are fast perishing and) passing away, are-to-be-bound (together and

severis legibus. Fuit non recusandum,  
reinstated) by severe laws. It-was not to-be-denied (that),

in tanto civili bello, que tanto ardore  
in so-great a civil war, and in-so-great an excitement

animorum et armorum, quin  
of mind and of arms, (in civil contests), but that (violently)

quassata, respublica, quicunque fuisset eventus  
shaken, the republic, whatever might-be the event

belli, perderet multa et ornamenta  
of-the-war, would-lose much both as (respects) the ornaments

dignitatis et præsidia suæ stabilitatis; que uterque  
of (its) dignity and the guards of its stability; and each

dux faceret multa armatus, quæ idem  
general would-have-done many-things (while in) arms, which he

prohibuisset fieri, togatus.  
would-have-forbidden to-be-done, (when) clothed with the toga, (the

Omnia quæ vulnera belli curanda sunt  
dress of peace). All which wounds of war are-to-be-cured

tibi; quibus nemo præter te potest mederi.  
by you; which no-one except you can heal.

Itaque invitatus audiivi illam tuam præclarissimam  
Therefore (with) regret I heard that your very-celebrated

et sapientissimam vocem, "Vixi satis diu vel  
and very-wise saying, "I-have-lived sufficiently long either

naturæ vel gloriæ." Satis fortasse si vis  
for-nature or for glory." Sufficiently (long) perhaps if you-wish

ita naturæ; etiam addo si placet gloriæ;  
(it to be) so for-nature; also I-add if it-pleases (you) for-glory;

at (quod est maximum) certe parum  
but (what is (of) the greatest (importance), certainly (but) little

patriæ. Quare omitte, quæso  
(long enough) for (your) country. Wherefore give-up, I-pray (you)

istam prudentiam doctorum hominum in contemnendâ  
this wisdom of learned men in despising

morte; noli esse sapiens nostro periculo. Enim  
death; do not be wise at-our risk. For 'it-has

sæpe venit ad meas aures, te dicere istud idem  
often 'come to my ears, (that) you say this same

nimis crebro, te vixisse satis  
(thing) too often, that-you have-lived sufficiently (long)

tibi. Credo; sed tum  
for-yourself. I believe (you are of this mind); but then (only)

audirem id, si viveres tibi soli, aut si  
would-I-listen (to) it, if you-lived for yourself alone, or if

etiam natus esses tibi soli. Nunc, cum tuæ  
also you-were-born for yourself alone. (But) now, when your

res gestæ complexæ sint salutem  
deeds have-embraced (and are identified with) the safety

omnium civium, que cunctam  
of all the citizens, and (the same may also be said of) the entire

republicam; tantum abes a perfectione  
republic; 'you-are so-very 'distant from the completion

maximorum operum, ut nondum jeceris  
of (your) greatest works, that 'you-have not-as-yet 'laid

fundamenta quæ cogitas. Tu  
the foundations (thereof) which you-may-think (you have). Will you

hîc defines modum tuæ vitæ non  
here limit the measure of-your life not as respects the

salute reipublicæ, sed æquitate animi? Quid  
safety of-the-republic, but the equanimity of your mind? What

si istud est ne quidem satis  
if that (portion of your life passed) is not indeed sufficient

tuæ gloriæ? cujus, quamvis sis sapiens,  
for-your glory? of which (glory), although you-be a-wise-man

non negabis, te esse avidissimum.  
'you will not 'deny, (that) you are very desirous.

Igitur inquires, ne parum magnam gloriam  
Therefore you-ask, (is it) but little (of) great glory

relinquemus? Immo  
we-shall-leave (behind us, should our life now terminate)? Truly



vero satis aliis, quamvis multis; tibi uni parum  
indeed enough for-others, however numerous; for-you alone (too) little.

Enim quidquid est, quamvis sit amplum,  
For whatever is (your glory), although it-may be ample,  
id certe est tum parum, cum est aliquid  
it certainly is then little, when there-is something

amplius. Quod si, C. Cæsar,  
greater (of glory, that may be obtained). Because if, O C. Cæsar,

hic futurus sit exitus tuarum immortalium rerum,  
this were-to-be the result 'of your immortal achievements,  
ut, adversariis devictis, relinqueres rempublicam  
that, (your) enemies being conquered, you-would-leave the republic

in eo statu, in quo nunc est; vide, quæso, ne  
in that state, in which 'it now 'is; see (to it), I-beg-you, lest

tua divina virtus sit habitura plus admirationis  
your divine virtue may-hereafter-have more of-admiration

quàm gloriæ; siquidem gloria est illustris ac  
than of-glory; since glory is illustrious and

pervagata fama multorum et magnorum meritorum,  
wide-spread renown of-many and great services (done),

vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne  
either to one's (friends), or to one's country, or to the whole

genus hominum.

race of-men.

9. Igitur hæc est pars reliqua tibi, hic  
Therefore this is the part (that) is left to-you, this

actus restat, in hoc elaborandum est ut  
act remains (to be performed), in this exertion-is-to-be-made that

constituas rempublicam, que eâ  
'you-may-(firmly) 'establish the republic, and this (republic)

compositâ, tu in primis perfruare  
'being (thus) 'settled, you (may be) among the first to enjoy (it)

cum summâ tranquillitate et otio; tum, cum  
in the greatest tranquillity and leisure; then, when

et solveris quod debes  
'you-have both 'discharged the duty which you-owe 'to (your)

patriæ, et expleveris naturam ipsam satietate  
country, and may-have-filled nature herself with satiety

vivendi                      dicito si voles,  
of living [and shall have attained to a good old age] say if you-wish,

te vixisse satis diu. Enim quid omnino est  
(that) you have-lived sufficiently long. For what after-all is

hoc ipsum diu,            in quo est aliquid extremum,  
this same long (living), in which there is something the last

quod cum venit, omnis  
(and which must have an end), which when it-arrives, all

præterita voluptas est pro nihilo, quia postea  
past pleasure is for nothing, because after-that

futura est nulla? Quanquam iste animus tuus  
there will be nothing? Although that mind (of) yours

nunquam contentus fuit his angustiis, quas  
never was-content with-those narrow (limits), which

natura dedit nobis ad vivendum; que semper  
nature has-given us to live (in); and always

flagravit amore immortalitatis.  
was-inflamed with-the-love of-immortality.

Nec vero hæc tua vita ducenda est, quæ  
Nor truly 'is this your life 'to-be-considered (as that), which  
continetur corpore et spiritu. Illa, illa, inquam  
is-contained in-the-body and spirit. That, that, I-say  
est tua vita, quæ vigebit memoriâ omnium  
is your life, which will-flourish in-the-memory of all  
sæculorum; quam posteritas alet, quam æternitas  
ages; which posterity will-cherish, which eternity  
ipsa semper tuebitur. Huic oportet  
itself 'will always 'preserve. For this (existence) it-behoves (that)  
tu inservias, huic ostentes te;  
you exert (yourself), for-this you-will-show yourself (in your  
quæ quidem jampridem habet multa  
true glory); (a life) which indeed long-since has many-things  
quæ miretur; nunc etiam expectat, quæ  
which may-be-admired; now also it-looks-for (that), which  
laudet. Certe posteri obstupescant,  
may-receive-praise. Certainly posterity will-be-amazed, (when)  
audientes et legentes imperia.  
hearing, and reading (cf) (your various) commands

provincias, Rhenum, Oceanum, Nilum,  
 the provinces, the Rhine, the Ocean, the Nile, (your)  
 innumerabiles pugnās, incredibiles victorias,  
 innumerable battles, (your) incredible victories, (your)  
 innumera monumenta, tuos triumphos. Sed, nisi  
 countless monuments, (and) your triumphs. But, unless  
 hæc urbs stabilita erit tuis consiliis et institutis,  
 this city is-firmly-settled by your counsels and laws,  
 tuum nomen modo tum vagabitur longe atque  
 your name 'will only then 'be-spread-out far and  
 late; quidem non habebit stabilem sedem et  
 wide; (but) indeed 'it will not 'have a stable abode and  
 certum domicilium. Etiam erit inter  
 certain domicile (to dwell in). Also there-will-be among  
 eos qui nascentur, sicut fuit inter nos,  
 those who (hereafter) will-be-born, as there-was among ourselves,  
 magna dissensio, cum alii efferent tuas res gestas  
 great dissension, while some will-raise your exploits  
 laudibus ad cœlum, alii fortasse requirunt aliquid,  
 with praises to heaven, others perhaps will-require something  
 que id vel maximum, nisi  
 (more), and that even the-greatest-of-all, unless  
 restinxeris incendium civilis belli salute  
 you-shall-have-extinguished the conflagration of civil war by-the-safety  
 patriæ; ut illud videatur fuisse  
 of-(your) 'country; (so) that the-former may-appear to-have-been (the  
 fati, hoc consilii. Igitur  
 work) of fate, this (the latter the work of your wise) counsel. Therefore  
 servi etiam iis iudicibus, qui multis seculis  
 have-regard also to-those judges, who many ages  
 pòst iudicabunt de te, et quidem, haud scio an  
 hereafter will decide concerning you, and indeed, perhaps  
 incorruptius, quàm nos; nam iudicabunt, et  
 more-unbiasedly, than we (can); for they-will-judge, both  
 sine amore et sine cupiditate, et rursus  
 without affection and without cupidity, and (also) again  
 sine odio et sine invidiâ. Autem etiam si  
 without hatred and without envy. Put also if (all)

id non tunc pertinebit ad te  
 this 'should not then 'affect to you (hereafter, when dead)  
 (ut quidam falso putant); certe nunc pertinet  
 (as some falsely suppose); 'it certainly now 'behoves (you)  
 te esse talem, ut nulla  
 (that) you be such, [conduct yourself in such a manner], that no  
 oblivio unquam obscuratura sit tuas  
 oblivion 'shall ever (hereafter) 'obscure your  
 laudes.  
 praises.

10. Voluntates civium fuerunt diversæ, que  
 The inclinations of-the-citizens were diverse, and (their)  
 sententiæ distractæ, enim non  
 opinions distracted (and divided in the civil war); for 'we did not  
 solum dissidebamus consiliis et studiis, sed etiam  
 only 'differ by (our) counsels and wishes, but also  
 armis et castris.  
 by-arms and camps (and took different sides in the military operations).  
 Autem erat quædam obscuritas, erat  
 But there-was some obscurity (in the affair), there-was  
 certamen inter clarissimos duces;  
 a contest between the-most-celebrated generals (Cæsar and Pompey);  
 multi dubitabant, quid esset optimum;  
 many doubted, what might-be best (to be done, for the in-  
 terest of the republic); many what might-be-expedient for-themselves;  
 multi quid expediret sibi;  
 many what might-be-becoming (for them to do); also some  
 quid liceret.  
 what it-might-be-allowed (for them to do for their own private interest).  
 Respublica perfuncta est hoc misero que  
 The republic 'has (at last) 'gone-through this miserable and  
 fatali bello; is vicit, qui non  
 fatal (civil) war; he has-conquered, who 'would not  
 inflammaret suum odium fortunâ,  
 'inflamm his hatred by success (or make use of good  
 fortune as a means of revenge), sed leniret  
 but would-mitigate (it)



bonitate; nec, qui, omnes quibus  
by kindness (and clemency); nor, who, all (those) with whom

iratus esset judicaret, etiam  
he-had-been-displeased (and offended) would-he-deem (them), also

eosdem dignos exsilio aut morte. Arma  
the same (as) worthy (of) exile or death. Arms

posita ab aliis, ab aliis erepta sunt.  
were-laid-down by some, from others they-were-taken. (That)

civis est ingratus que injustus, qui liberatus  
citizen is ungrateful and unjust, who having-been-freed

periculo armorum, tamen retinet armatum  
from-the-dangers of war, yet retains a hostile

animum; ut etiam ille sit melior,  
mind; (so) that also he is better (and more excusable),

qui cecidit in acie, qui profudit animam in causâ.  
who fell in battle, who lost (his) life in the cause.

Enim quæ potest videri pertinacia quibusdam,  
For that-which may appear obstinacy in some,

eadem aliis constantia. Sed jam omnis  
the same in-others (may appear) constancy. But now all

dissentio fracta est armis, et exstincta  
dissension has-been-crushed by-arms, and extinguished

æquitate victoris; restat, ut omnes velint  
by-the-justice of-the-conqueror; it-remains, that all may-desire

unum, qui modo habent non solum  
one (and the same thing), who indeed may-have not only

aliquid sapientiæ, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi,  
any-thing of wisdom, but also soundness-of-mind. Unless,

Cæsar, te salvo, et manente in istâ  
O Cæsar, you being-safe, and remaining in this (same)

sententiâ, quâ cum antea vel tum hodie  
opinion, which as (well) heretofore as moreover to-day

maxime usus es,  
'you-have more-especially 'made-use-of, [in the same opinions you have

possumus non esse salvi.  
always declared yourself to be of] 'we-can not be safe.

Quare omnes, qui volumus hæc esse salva,  
Wherefore (we) all, who wish these (things) to-be safe.

et hortamur et obsecramus te ut consulas  
 both exhort and entreat you that you consult (your)  
 vitæ, ut tuæ saluti; que omnes  
 life, that (you would consult) your safety; and 'we all  
 pollicemur tibi (ut etiam loquar pro aliis,  
 'promise you (that 'I-may also 'speak for others,  
 quod ipse sentio de me), quoniam putas  
 that-which I-myself feel as respects myself), because you-think  
 aliquid subesse, quod  
 there 'is something (formed against you) 'concealed, which  
 cavendum sit, non modo excubias et  
 it-may-be-necessary-to-guard-against, not only watches and  
 custodias, sed etiam oppositus nostrorum  
 sentinels, but also (we promise) the opposition of our  
 laterum et corporum.  
 sides and ( bodies (as ramparts against your enemies).

11. Sed unde oratio orsa est terminetur in  
 But whence (my) speech began let-it-end in  
 eodem.  
 the same (place). [Let my speech end with the same expressions of thanks,

Omnes, C. Cæsar, agimus maximas  
 that it began with.] 'We all, O C. Cæsar, 'return great  
 gratias tibi; habemus etiam majores.  
 thanks to-you; we-have also (yet) greater (thanks that we

Nam omnes sentiunt idem;  
 cannot express). For all feel the same (thing);  
 quod potuisti sentire ex precibus et  
 which you-might-have perceived from the entreaties and  
 lacrymis omnium. Sed, quia est non necesse  
 tears of all. But, because it-is not necessary  
 omnibus stantibus dicere; certe  
 for all standing up to declare (their feelings and opinions); certainly

volunt dici a me, cui est quodammodo  
 they-wish (them) to-be-expressed by me, to whom it-is in-some-sort  
 necesse, et quod volunt, et quod decet,  
 necessary (to say), both what they-wish, and what is-proper,  
 et id, quod intelligo debere præcipue fieri a me,  
 and that, which I consider ought principally to-be-done by me,

(M. Marcello reddito a te huic ordini

(M. Marcello being-restored by you to this order (of the senate)

que Romano populo et reipublicæ). Nam sentio

and the Roman people and to-the-republic) For I-feel (that)

omnes lætari, non ut de salute unius solum, sed ut

all rejoice, not as for the safety of one alone, but as

de communi salute omnium; atem quod est

for the common safety of all; but which is (a proof),

summæ benevolentiae (quæ fuit semper nota

of the greatest affection (which was always known

omnibus me erga illum, ut vix cederem

to all, (that) I (had) towards him, that scarcely did-I-yield

C. Marcello optimo et amantissimo fratri, quidem

to C. Marcellus his most excellent and affectionate brother, indeed

præter eum nemini), cum præstiterim id sollicitudine,

except him to no one), as I-showed this 'by (my) 'solicitude,

curâ, labore tamdiu quamdiu

'by (my) 'care, (and) 'by (my) 'exertion as-long as

dubitatum est de illius salute, certe debeo

it-was-doubted respecting his safety, I certainly ought

præstare hoc tempore liberatus

to show (my affection) at-this time (when) freed

magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus.

from great cares, troubles, (and) sufferings (respecting him).

Itaque, C. Cæsar, sic ago gratias, ut me

Therefore, O C. Cæsar, I thus return thanks, that I being

non solum conservato a te omnibus rebus, sed

not only preserved by you in-all things, but

etiam ornato, tamen ad tua innumerabilia merita

also honoured, however to your innumerable kind acts

in me unum, (quod arbitrabar posse non jam

to me alone, (which I-thought could not even-now

feri), hoc tuo facto

be made) (greater), by this your act (of pardoning M. Marcellus)

maximus cumulus accesserit.

the greatest crowning-favour has acceded.

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,*  
 PRO  
 FOR  
 MANILIA LEGE.  
*THE MANILIAN LAW.*

---

1. QUANQUAM conspectus vester frequens

Although the sight (of) your number us (assembly)

semper est visus mihi, Quirites, multo  
 'has always 'appeared to-me, O Romans, (by) much

jucundissimus, autem hic locus amplissimus  
 the-most-agreeable (sight), moreover this place the-most-dignified

ad agendum, ornatissimus ad dicendum;  
 to treat (with you), (and) the-most-honourable to speak (in);

tamen, hoc aditu laudis, qui semper maxime  
 however, from-this avenue to praise, which 'was always especially

patuit, cuique optimo, non mea  
 'open, to each distinguished (and excellent man), not

voluntas, sed meæ rationes vitæ susceptæ  
 will, but my rules of life adopted

ineunte ætate prohibuerunt me. Nam  
 the commencing age (of my career, 'held me 'back. For

cum antea, per ætatem, auderem nondum  
 when heretofore, on-account-of (my) age, I dared not-yet

attingere auctoritatem hujus loci, que statuerem,  
 aspire to-the-dignity of-this place, and 'I-sat (it) 'down,



nihil oportere afferi huc nisi  
 (that) nothing ought to-be-brought to-this-place unless (it)  
 perfectum ingenio elaboratum industriâ; putavi  
 were-perfected by talent (and) elaborated by industry; 'I (therefore)

omne meum tempus transmittendum  
 'I thought (that) all my time was-to-be-given-over

temporibus amicorum. Ita neque fuit hic locus  
 to-the-affairs of-my-friends. Also neither was this place

unquam vacuus ab iis, qui defenderent vestram  
 ever unoccupied by those, who might-defend your

causam; et meus labor versatus caste que  
 cause (and interests); and my labour employed faithfully and

integre in periculis privatorum, est consecutus  
 honestly in the dangers of private (individuals), has-obtained

amplissimum fructum ex vestro iudicio.  
 the-most-ample reward from your judgment (and opinion),

Nam cum propter dilationem  
 favourably pronounced for me). For when on-account-of the adjournment

comitiorum, renuntiatus sum ter, primus  
 of-the-comitia, I-was-declared (elected) three-times, (as) first

prætor cunctis centuriis, facile intellexi,  
 prætor by-all the centuries, 'I readily 'understood (from this),

Quirites, et quid judicaretis de me, et quid  
 O-Romans, both what you-might-judge of me, and what

præscriberetis aliis. Et nunc, cum sit tantum  
 you-might-prescribe to others. And now, when there-may-be so-much

auctoritatis in me, quantum vos voluistis  
 of authority (and influence) in me, as you have-willed

esse honoribus mandandis; et  
 (that) there be by-honours assigned (to me, by you); and

tantum facultas ad agendum,  
 so-much capacity (and fitness) for treating-with-you (and addressing

quantum prope quotidiana exercitatio dicendi  
 you), as almost the daily exercise of speaking

potuit afferre vigilantī hominī, ex usu  
 could bring to an industrious man, from the practice (of the)

forensi; et certe si est quid auctoritatis in  
 bar; and certainly if there is any-thing of-authority in

me, utar eâ apud eos, qui dederunt eam  
 me, I-will-use it before those, who conferred this (authority)  
 mihi; et si etiam possum consequi quid dicendo,  
 on me; and if also I can effect any-thing by speaking,  
 ostendam potissimum iis, qui quoque  
 I will-display (it) the-most-especially to-those, who also  
 censuerunt suo judicio fructum  
 have-thought by-their (favourable) opinion (and suffrages, that) a-reward  
 tribuendum esse ei rei. Atque video,  
 ought-to-be-given (me) for-this thing. And I-see, (that),  
 illud in primis, lætandum esse mihi jure,  
 that in particular, 'ought-to rejoice me by-right,  
 quòd in hac insolitâ ratione dicendi mihi, ex  
 that in this unusual mode of-speaking for-me, (and) from  
 hoc loco, talis causa oblata est, in quâ oratio  
 this place, such a cause is offered (to me), in which an oration  
 potest deesse nemini. Enim dicendum est de  
 could fail no-one. For it-is-to-be-discoursed about  
 singulari que eximiâ virtute Cn. Pompeii; hujus  
 the-singular and eminent virtue of Cn. Pompey; of-this  
 orationis est difficilius invenire exitum quàm  
 discourse it-is more-difficult to-find the termination than  
 principium. Ita non tam copia,  
 the commencement. Therefore not so-much copiousness (or diffusion),  
 quàm modus in dicendo quærendum est.  
 as (a restricted) mode in speaking is-to-be-sought-for.

2. Atque ut mea oratio proficiscatur inde,  
 And that my oration may-proceed-from thence,  
 unde omnis hæc causa ducitur; grave et  
 whence all this affair is-derived; a serious and  
 periculosum bellum infertur vestris vectigalibus  
 dangerous war is-waged against-your revenues  
 atque sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus,  
 and allies by two most-powerful kings,  
 Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus,  
 Mithridates and Tigranes, of-whom the one being-left  
 alter lacessitus,  
 (to himself and unmolested), the other provoked (by your attacks),

arbitrantur occasionem oblatum esse sibi ad  
 think (that) an opportunity is-offered to-them to  
 occupandum Asiam. Literæ quotidie afferuntur  
 occupy Asia. Letters 'are daily 'brought  
 ex Asiâ Romanis equitibus, honestissimis viris,  
 from Asia to Roman knights, most-honourable men,  
 quorum magnæ res occupatæ, in  
 of, whom [belonging to whom] great sums-of-money employed, in  
 exercendis vestris vectigalibus, aguntur; qui,  
 collecting your revenues, are-at-stake; who  
 pro necessitudine, quæ est mihi, cum illo  
 on-account-of the-intimate-connexion, which is with-me, with that  
 ordine detulerunt ad  
 order (of knight, from which I have myself sprung) brought to  
 me causam reipublicæ,  
 (and entrusted) me (with the task of pleading) the cause of-the-republic,  
 que pericula suarum rerum; Bithyniæ, quæ  
 and the dangers of their (private) fortunes; in Bithynia, which  
 est nunc vestra provincia, complures  
 is now your province, (it is said that) many  
 vicos exustos esse; regum Ariobarzanis, quod  
 villages have-been-burnt; (that) the kingdom of Ariobarzanes, which  
 finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, esse totum in  
 borders-on your tributaries, is entirely in  
 potestate hostium; Lucullum, gestis magnis  
 the power of-the-enemy; (that) Lucullus, having-performed great  
 rebus, discedere ab eo bello; huic, qui  
 exploits, is retiring from that war; (that) to-him, who  
 successerit non satis paratum esse  
 may-succeed (Lucullus) 'it has not 'been sufficiently 'provided  
 ad administrandum tantum bellum; unum  
 for conducting so-great a war; (that) one person [Pom-  
 pey] is-demanded and required by all allies and  
 civibus imperatorem ad id bellum: hunc  
 citizens (as) the commander for that war; (that) this

eundem unum metui ab hostibus, præterea  
 same individual is-feared by the enemy, (and) besides (him)

neminem.

no-one.

Videtis quæ sit causa

You-see what may-be the case (and the nature of the affair before

nunc, considerate quid sit agendum. Videtur  
 you); now, consider what is-to-be-done. It-seems

mihi primum dicendum esse de genere  
 to-me (that) first mention-ought-to-be-made of the nature

belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de  
 of-the-war, afterwards of (its) magnitude, (and) then of

imperatore diligendo. Genus belli est ejusmodi,  
 the commander to-be-chosen. The nature of-the-war is of-that-kind,

quod debeat maxime excitare atque inflammare  
 which ought very-greatly to-excite and to-inflame

vestros animos ad studium persequendi;  
 your minds to the zealous-desire of-carrying (it) on (to a suc-

in quo gloria Romani populi  
 cessful conclusion); in which the glory of-the-Roman people

agitur, quæ tradita est vobis a majoribus,  
 is-staked, which has-been-handed-down to you by (your) ancestors,

cum magna in omnibus  
 (which glory of your ancestor) when (it was) great in all

rebus, tum summa in militari re; salus  
 things, (was) then the greatest in military affairs; the safety

sociorum atque amicorum agitur, pro quâ vestri  
 of-our-allies and friends is-at-stake, for which your

majores gesserunt multa magna et gravia bella;  
 ancestors have-waged many great and serious wars;

certissima et maxima vectigalia Romani populi  
 the most-sure and greatest revenues of-the-Roman people

aguntur; quibus amissis, requiretis  
 are-at-stake; which being-lost, you-will-require (and miss)

et ornamenta pacis, et subsidia belli; bona  
 both the ornaments of peace, and the subsidies of war; the property

multorum civium aguntur, quibus consulendum est  
 of many citizens is-at-stake, for-which care-is-to-be-taken



a vobis, et causâ ipsorum et  
 by you, both for the sake of those-interested and (for the sake)  
 reipublicæ.  
 of the republic.

3. Et quoniam semper fuistis appetentes  
 And because 'you always have-been seekers  
 gloriæ, atque avidi laudis præter ceteras gentes,  
 of glory, and eager of praise beyond (all) other nations,  
 illa macula, suscepta superiore Mithridatico bello,  
 that stain, received in-the-former Mithridatic war,  
 delenda est vobis, quæ jam insedit penitus  
 is-to-be-effaced by-you, which (stain) now has-settled deep  
 atque inveteravit in nomine  
 and 'established (itself) 'by-length-of-time on the name  
 Romani populi; quòd is qui, uno  
 of-the-Roman people; that he (Mithridates) who, in-one (and the  
 die, in totâ Asiâ, in tot civitatibus,  
 same) day, in all Asia, in so-many cities (and states),  
 denotavit uno nuntio, atque significatione  
 designated by-a-single messenger, and by-the-signification (or order)  
 unâ literarum Romanos cives  
 alone of-a-letter (he carried with him) Roman citizens  
 trucidandos que necandos, non modo adhuc  
 to-be-butchered and put-to-death, not only as-yet  
 suscepit ullam poenam dignam scelere;  
 has-he-(not)-received any punishment commensurate with-the-crime;  
 sed jam regnat, tertium et vicesimum annum  
 but 'he now 'reigns, (in the) three and twentieth year  
 ab illo tempore; et regnat, ita ut  
 from that time (of the massacre); and he-reigns, so that 'he-does  
 non velit occultare se Ponto, neque latebris  
 not 'pretend to-hide himself in-Pontus, nor in-the-lurking-places  
 Cappadociæ, sed emergere e patrio  
 of Cappadocia, but (he seeks) to-emerge from (his) hereditary  
 regno, atque versari in vestris  
 kingdom, and to-carry-on (his warlike operations) among your  
 vectigalibus, hoc est in luce. Asiæ.  
 tributaries, that is in (open day) light (and view of all) Asia

Etenim adhuc, vestri imperatores ita contenderunt  
For until-now, your generals 'have so 'contended

cum illo rege, ut reportarent ab  
with that king, that (they may be said to) have carried off from

illo insignia victoriæ, non victoriam. L. Sulla  
him the-tokens of victory, (and) not victory (itself). L. Sylla

triumphavit de Mithridate, L. Murena triumphavit,  
triumphed over Mithridates, L. Murena triumphed

duo fortissimi viri, et summi imperatores;  
(over him), two most-valiant men, and the greatest commanders;

sed triumpharunt ita, ut ille, pulsus que superatus,  
but they triumphed so, that he, repulsed and defeated,

regnaret. Verumtamen laus est tribuenda illis  
still reigned. But-indeed praise is to-be-given to-those

imperatoribus quod egerunt; venia danda,  
generals (for) what they did; pardon is-to-be-granted,

quod reliquerunt; propterea quòd respublica  
for what they-left-undone; because that the republic

revocavit Sullam ab eo bello in Italiam, Sulla  
recalled Sylla from that war to Italy, (and) Sylla

Murenam.

(recalled) Murena.

4. Autem Mithridates contulit omne reliquum

But Mithridates employed all the intervening

tempus, non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad  
time, not in the oblivion of-the-old war, but in

comparationem novi; qui, posteaquam  
the preparing of a new (war); who, after-that

edificasset que ornasset maximas classes, que  
he-had-built and equipped very-great fleets, and

comparasset permagnos exercitus, ex quibuscunque  
assembled very-large armies, from whatever

gentibus potuisset, et simulasset se  
nations he-could, and pretended (that) he (was about,

inferre bellum Bosporanis, suis  
to wage war against-the-inhabitants-on-the-Bosphorus, his

finitimis; misit legatos ac literas, usque in  
neighbours; he-sent ambassadors and letters, even unto

Hispaniam ad eos duces, cum quibus tum  
 Spain to those leaders, with whom 'we-were then  
 gerebamus bellum; cum ut bellum gereretur  
 'waging war; so that the war might-be-carried-on  
 terrâ que mari, in duobus disjunctissimis, que  
 by-land and by-sea, in two widely-separated, and  
 maxime diversis locis, uno consilio  
 very greatly dissimilar places, with one (and the same) plan  
 a binis copiis hostium, vos districti  
 (of operation) by two armies of-the-enemy, (so that) you occupied  
 ancipiti contentione dimicaretis de imperio.  
 by-a-double contest might-have-to-fight for the empire (itself).  
 Sed tamen periculum alterius partis, Sertorianæ  
 But however the danger of-the-other part (namely), the Sertorian  
 atque Hispaniensis, quæ habebat multo plus  
 and Spanish (danger), which had much more  
 firmamenti ac roboris, depulsum est divino consilio  
 stability and strength, was-warded-off by-the-divine wisdom  
 ac singulari virtute Cn. Pompeii; in alterâ parte,  
 and singular valour of Cn. Pompey; on the other part  
 res ita administrata est a L. Lucullo,  
 (in Asia), the affair 'was so 'managed by L. Lucullus,  
 summo viro, ut illa magna atque præclara  
 a-most-distinguished man, that those great and brilliant  
 initia gestarum rerum videantur esse tribuenda,  
 beginnings 'of (his) 'exploits may-seem to be attributed,  
 non ejus felicitati, sed virtuti, autem hæc  
 not 'to his 'good-fortune, but 'to (his) 'valour, but these  
 extrema, quæ nuper acciderunt,  
 latter (reverses), which lately have-happened, (may seem to be attri-  
 buted), not (to any) fault (of his), but (to bad) fortune. But of  
 Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam  
 Lucullus I-shall-speak in-another place, and 'I shall so 'speak (of him)  
 Quirites, ut videatur, neque vera laus  
 O Romans, that it-may-seem, (that) neither true praise  
 detracta ei nostrâ oratione, neque falsa  
 has-been-taken-from him by-our oration, nor false (praise)

afficta esse De dignitate atque gloriâ  
 to-have-been-bestowed (on him). Concerning the-dignity and the-glory  
 vestri imperii, quoniam is est exorsus meâ  
 of-your empire, as that is the beginning of my  
 orationis, videte, quem animum putetis  
 oration, consider, what (feelings of) mind you-may-think  
 suscipiendum vobis.  
 ought-to-be-entertained by-you.

5. Vestri majores sæpe gesserunt bella  
 Your ancestors 'have often 'waged wars (on account  
 mercatoribus ac naviculariis injuriosius  
 of their) merchants and seafaring-men 'having-been too-injuri-ously  
 tractatis; tandem, quo animo debetis vos esse,  
 'treated; in-fine, in-what (state of) mind ought you to-be,  
 tot millibus Romanorum civium necatis,  
 so-many thousands of Roman citizens being-slain, (by an order  
 uno nuntio, atque uno tempore? Vestri  
 carried) by-one messenger, and (all) at-the-same time? Your  
 patres voluerunt Corinthum, lumen totius Græciæ,  
 ancestors resolved (that) Corinth, the light of-all Greece,  
 extinctum esse quòd legati  
 should-be extinguished (and destroyed) because (your) ambassadors  
 erant superbius appellati; vos patiemini eum regem  
 were too-haughtily addressed; you suffer that king  
 esse inultum, qui necavit legatum Romani populi,  
 to-be unpunished, who murdered an ambassador of the Roman people,  
 consularem, excruciatum vinculis ac  
 (and he of) consular-dignity, (after being) tortured by chains and  
 verberibus, atque omni supplicio? Illi  
 scourging, and all (kinds of) punishments? They (your  
 non tulerunt libertatem  
 ancestors) 'did not 'suffer the liberty (and privileges)  
 Romanorum civium imminutam; vos negligetis  
 of Roman citizens to-be-infringed; 'will you 'neglect  
 vitam ereptam? Illi  
 (to avenge) the-life taken (from your ambassador)? They  
 persecuti sunt jus legationis  
 avenged the right, (and privileges) of-an-embassy (when)



violatum verbo; vos relinquetis legatum  
violated (only) by-a-word; 'will you 'leave (unavenged) an ambassador

interfectum, omni supplicio? Videte, ne, ut  
put-to-death, by-all (kinds of) torture? See-to-it, lest, as

fuit pulcherrimum illis, relinquere vobis tantam  
it was a-most-illustrious (thing) for-them, to-leave to you so-great

gloriam imperii; sic sit  
a glory of-empire (and such great renown); so it-may-be

turpissimum vobis, non posse tueri et  
a-most-shameful (thing) for-you, not to-be-able to defend and

conservare, id, quod accepistis. Quid,  
to preserve, that, which you-have-received (from them). What

quòd salus sociorum vocatur, in  
(shall I say of this), that the safety of-the-allies is-placed in

summum periculum ac discrimen? Rex Ariobarzanes,  
the greatest danger and hazard? King Ariobarzanes,

socius atque amicus Romani populi, expulsus est  
the ally and friend of-the-Roman people, has-been-driven

regno; duo reges imminet toti Asiæ,  
'from (his) 'kingdom; two kings threaten all Asia, (who are)

non solum inimicissimi vobis, sed etiam vestris sociis  
not only most-hostile to-you, but also to-your allies

atque amicis; autem omnes civitates, cuncta Asia  
and friends; but all the cities, entire Asia

atque Græcia, propter magnitudinem periculi,  
and Greece, on-account-of the magnitude of-the-danger,

coguntur expectare vestrum auxilium:  
are-forced to-expect (and wish for) your assistance;

arbitrantur neque audent deprecari certum  
they-think (that) neither dare-they request a certain

imperatorem, a vobis, cum  
(particular) commander, [namely, Pompey,] from you, when

præsertim vos miseritis alium, neque posse  
especially you have-sent another, nor (suppose that) they-could

facere id, sine summo periculo.  
do it, without the greatest danger (from the commander just

Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod  
appointed). They-see and feel this same (thing), which

vos esse unum virum, in quo sint omnia  
 you (do, that) there-is one man, in whom are all  
 summa, et eum esse  
 the highest (qualities, for carrying on the war), and (that) he is  
 prope, (quo etiam carent ægrius),  
 near, (for which also they-desire (him) the-more-impatiently),  
 ipso adventu cujus, atque nomine,  
 by-this-self-same arrival of-him, and 'by (his) 'name,  
 tametsi ille venerit ad maritimum bellum,  
 although he came to a maritime war (against the pirates),  
 tamen intelligunt impetus hostium esse  
 yet they perceive (that) the attacks of-the-enemy were  
 repressos ac retardatos. Hi rogant vos  
 repressed and retarded. These (allies and friends) entreat you  
 tacite, quoniam  
 silently, because (through fear of offending the commander of the pro  
 non licet loqui libere, ut  
 vince) 'it-is not 'allowed (them) to speak freely (and openly), that  
 quoque existimetis se sicut dignos  
 you-would also 'consider them as worthy of your  
 socios ceterarum provinciarum, quorum  
 favours, as are the allies of-other provinces, whose  
 salutem commendetis tali viro: atque  
 safety you-may-have-confided to such a man (as Pompey): and  
 hoc etiam magis, quàm ceteros, quòd  
 for-this (reason) also the-more-so, than the others (are), because  
 mittimus homines ejusmodi in provinciam cum  
 we-send men of-that-sort into this province with (military  
 imperio, ut etiam si defendant  
 and civil) authority, (so) that though if they-defend (them)  
 ab hoste, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes  
 from the enemy, yet their arrival among the towns  
 sociorum non differant multum ab hostili  
 of-the-allies 'does not 'differ much from a hostile  
 expugnatione. Audiebant hunc antea, nunc  
 capture. They-heard (of) him before, now  
 vident præsentem, tantâ  
 they-see (him) present (among them), (a man) of-so-much

temperantiâ, tantâ mansuetudine, tantâ humanitate,  
 moderation, of-so-much mildness, of-so-much humanity,  
 ut ii videantur esse beatissimi, apud quos  
 that those seem to be the-most-fortunate, among whom  
 ille commoratur diutissime.  
 he sojourns the-longest-time.

6. Quare, si vestri majores, propter socios,  
 Wherefore, if your ancestors, on account (of their) allies,  
 ipsi lacesiti nullâ injuriâ, gesserunt  
 (although) themselves provoked by no injury, waged  
 bella cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Ætolis,  
 wars with Antiochus, with Philip, with the Ætolians,  
 cum Pœnis; quanto studio convenit  
 with the Carthaginians; with-what zeal (therefore) does-it-become  
 vos, provocatos injuriis, defendere salutem  
 you, provoked by injuries, to-defend the-safety 'of (your)  
 sociorum, unâ cum dignitate vestri imperii;  
 'allies, together with the dignity of-your empire;  
 præsertim cum agatur de vestris maximis  
 especially when (the thing) agitated (is) about your greatest  
 vectigalibus? Nam vectigalia  
 (and most productive) revenues? For the revenues  
 ceterarum provinciarum, Quirites, sunt tanta  
 of-the-other provinces, O Romans, are (only) so-great  
 ut possimus vix esse contenti ad  
 that we-can scarcely be content (with them, as sufficient) for  
 tutandas provincias ipsas; Asia vero est tam  
 defending the provinces themselves; Asia indeed is so  
 opima et fertilis, ut facile antecellat omnibus  
 fertile and productive, that (it) easily excels all (other)  
 terris, et ubertate agrorum, et varietate  
 countries, both by-the-richness 'of (its) 'soil, and by-the-variety  
 fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et  
 'of (its) 'fruits, and by-the-extent 'of (its) 'pastures, and  
 multitudine earum rerum, quæ exportantur. Itaque,  
 by-the-multitude of-those things, which may-be-exported. Therefore,  
 Quirites, hæc provincia vobis, si vultis  
 O Romans, this province (belonging) 'o-you, if you-wish

sustinere, et utilitatem belli,  
 to sustain (and defend), both (its) usefulness (in time) of war,  
 et dignitatem pacis, est non modò  
 and (its) dignity (and ornament in time) of peace, is not only  
 defendenda calamitate, sed etiam a  
 to-be-defended (by you) 'from (all) 'calamity, but also from  
 metu calamitatis. Nam in ceteris rebus, cum  
 (even) the fear of calamity. For in other things, when  
 calamitas venit, tum detrimentum accipitur; at  
 (any) calamity arrives, then damage is received; but  
 in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam  
 in revenue-affairs not only the arrival of-evil, but also  
 metus ipse, affert calamitatem. Nam cum copiae  
 the fear itself (of it), brings calamity. For when the forces  
 hostium non longe absunt, etiam si nulla  
 of-the-enemy 'are not far 'distant, (and) also if no  
 irruptio sit facta, tamen pecora relinquuntur,  
 inroad be made, however the flocks are-abandoned,  
 agricultura deseritur, navigatio mercatorum  
 agriculture is-deserted, the navigation (and commerce) of-merchants  
 conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu,  
 ceases-to-be-active. So (that) neither from port (duties on exports  
 neque ex decumis, neque  
 and imports), nor from the tithes (on agricultural produce), nor  
 ex scripturâ potest vectigal conservari.  
 from the pasturage-tax could (any) impost be preserved  
 Quare sæpe fructus totius anni  
 (or obtained). Wherefore often the produce of-an-entire year  
 amittitur uno rumore periculi, atque uno  
 is-lost by-a-single rumour of danger, and by-the-mere  
 terrore belli. Tandem, quo animo  
 fear of war. In-fine, in-what (state of) mind  
 existimatis aut eos esse, qui pensitant vectigalia  
 do-you-think (that) either those are, who pay duties  
 nobis, aut eos qui exercent atque  
 'o-us, or those who (make it their business to) collect and  
 exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis  
 exact (them), when two kings with very-large forces 'are



prope adsint? Cum una excursio equitatûs possit,  
 nearly 'present? When one incursion of-cavalry may

perbreui tempore, auferre vectigal totius  
 in-a-very-short time, carry off the revenue of-the-whole

anni? Cum publicani arbitrentur, se  
 year? When the-farmers-of-the-revenue may-think, (that) they

habere magno periculo maximas familias,  
 maintain at-a-great risk very-great companies (of slaves).

quas habent in saltibus, quas in agris,  
 which they-have in the-forests, which (they have) in the-fields,

quas in portubus, atque custodiis?  
 which (they have) in the harbours, and in-the-custom-houses?

Ne putatis, vos posse frui illis rebus, nisi  
 Whether do-you-think, (that) you can enjoy those things, unless

conservaveritis eos, qui sunt fructui vobis (ut  
 you-preserve those who are (thus) useful to-you (as

dixi antea), non solum liberatos calamitate, sed  
 I-said before), not only freed from calamity, but

etiam formidine calamitatis? |  
 also from-the-dread of calamity? |

7. Ac illud quidem ne negligendum est vobis,  
 And that indeed 'is not 'to-be-neglected by you,

quod ego proposueram mihi extremum,  
 which I had-proposed to-myself (as) the-last-thing (to be men-

cum essem dicturus, de genere belli,  
 tioned), when I-might (come) to-speak, concerning the kind of-war,

quod pertinet ad bona multorum  
 (namely, that) which appertains to the property of-many

Romanorum civium; quorum, Quirites, pro  
 Roman citizens; of whose (interest), O Romans, in

vestrâ sapientiâ, ratio  
 your wisdom, a sentiment of regard (for their interests) 'is

diligenter habenda est vobis. Nam et  
 especially 'to-be-had by you. For also

publicani, et honestissimi et ornatissimi  
 the-farmers-of-the-revenue, both honourable and accomplished

homines, contulerunt suas rationes et copias in  
 men, have-transferred their means and wealth into

illam provinciam; res et fortuna quorum  
 that province; the property and fortune of these  
 ipsorum debent esse, per se, curæ  
 same (men) ought to-be, on-their-own-account, (an especial) care  
 vobis. Etenim si, semper duximus  
 to you. For if, (as) 'we-have always 'supposed  
 vectigalia esse nervos reipublicæ; certe  
 the revenues to-be the sinews of-the-republic; 'we certainly  
 diceremus esse recte, eum ordinem,  
 'may-be-said to be right, (when we assert, that), that order  
 qui exercent illa, esse  
 (of men, the equites), who follow-the-business-of-collecting them, are  
 firmamentum ceterorum ordinum. Deinde, gnavi  
 the support of-the-other orders. In-the-next-place, active  
 et industrii homines ex ceteris ordinibus,  
 and industrious men from the other orders, (that)  
 partim ipsi negociantur in Asiâ, quibus, absentibus,  
 partly themselves traffic in Asia, who, being absent,  
 debetis consulere; partim habent magnas  
 you-ought to-take-care of; (and who) partly have great  
 pecunias suas, et suorum collocatas  
 sums-of-money (both) their-own, and (that) of-their-friends, placed  
 in eâ provinciâ. Igitur erit vestræ humanitatis,  
 in that province. Therefore it-will-be (a part) 'of your 'humanity,  
 prohibere magnum numerum eorum civium calamitate;  
 to-shield a great number of-those citizens from misfortune;  
 sapientiæ, videre calamitatem  
 (it will be a part of your) wisdom, to-perceive (that) the misfortune  
 multorum civium posse non esse sejunctam a  
 of-many citizens can not be separated from (that of)  
 republica. Etenim illud primum, refert parvi,  
 the republic. For that at-first, it-avails little, (that)  
 vos recuperare postea, victoriâ, vectigalia amissa  
 you recover hereafter, by-a-victory, the revenues lost  
 publicanis Neque enim, erit facultas  
 by-the-farmers-thereof. Nor also, will-there-be the means  
 iisdem redimendi,  
 with-these-same (farmers of the revenue) 'of (again) 'contracting-to-

propter calamitatem,  
 collect-the-revenue, on-account-of the calamity (of losing their property),  
 neque voluntas aliis, propter timorem.  
 nor (will there be any) desire to others, on-account-of the fear  
 Deinde, quod eadem Asia, atque iste  
 (of the risks). Next, that-which this-same Asia, and this  
 idem Mithridates docuit nos initio Asiatici  
 very-same Mithridates taught us in-the-beginning of the Asiatic  
 belli; id quidem debemus certe retinere  
 war; that indeed we-ought certainly to retain 'in (our)  
 memoriâ docti calamitate. Nam scimus tum,  
 'memory taught by calamity. For we-know (that) then,  
 cum permulti amiserant magnas res, fidem concidisse  
 when very-many had-lost large fortunes, credit fell  
 Romæ, solutione impeditâ. Enim multi  
 at Rome, the payment (of debts) being hindered. For many  
 possunt non amittere rem atque fortunas in unâ  
 can not lose (their) property and fortunes in a  
 civitate, ut non trahunt plures, cum se, in  
 city, that 'they-do not 'draw many, with themselves, into  
 eandem calamitatem. A quo  
 the same calamity (of loss of property and fortune). From which  
 periculo, prohibete rempublicam, et credite mihi  
 misfortune, do-you-defend the republic, and believe me  
 (id quod ipsi videtis), hæc fides, atque  
 (that which you-yourselves perceive) (to be so), these credits, and  
 hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ versatur Romæ,  
 this rate (and state) of-money-affairs, which are-practised at Rome,  
 quæ in foro, implicata est cum illis  
 which (are also practised) in the forum, are-bound-up with those  
 Asiaticis pecuniis, et  
 Asiatic sums of money (belonging to citizens of Rome), and  
 cohæret. Illa possunt non  
 cling (to them). Those (sums of moneys, invested in Asia), can not  
 ruere, ut hæc, labefactata  
 fall (and be lost), (but) that these (money affairs in Rome), being shaken  
 eodem motu, non concidant. Quare  
 by-the-same motion, would not fall (with them). Wherefore

videte, num vobis dubitandum sit incumbere  
consider, if you ought-to-doubt to-apply-yourselves

omni studio ad id bellum, in quo gloria vestri  
with-all zeal to that war, in which the glory of-your

nominis, salus sociorum maxima vectigalia,  
name, the safety 'of (your) 'allies, (your) greatest revenues,

fortunæ plurimorum civium, cum  
(and) the fortunes of many citizens, with

republicâ defendantur.

the republic are defended (and protected).

8. Quoniam dixi de genere belli,  
Because I-have-spoken concerning the nature of-the-war, 'I

nunc dicam pauca de magnitudine.  
now 'will-say a few (words) concerning (its) magnitude.

Enim hoc potest dici; esse genus belli  
For this may be-said (of it); (that it) is a kind of-war

ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum; esse  
so necessary, that it-is (absolutely) to-be-waged; (that) it-is

non ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo,  
not so great, that it-may-be-greatly-feared. In which,

est maxime laborandum, ne forte ea  
it-is principally to-be-sought-for (by me), lest by-chance those-things

videantur vobis esse contemnenda, quæ  
may-seem to-you to-be despised, which 'are

diligentissime providenda sunt. Atque ut omnes  
most-diligently 'to-be-provided-against. And that all

intelligent, me impertire L. Lucullo tantum  
may-understand, (that) I grant to L. Lucullus so-much

laudis, quantum debeatur forti viro, et sapientissimo  
of praise, as is due to-a-brave man, and to-a-very-wise

homini, et magno imperatori; dico, ejus  
man, and to-a-great general; I-say, (that) 'on his

adventu, maximas copias Mithridates fuisse ornatas  
arrival, the-very-great forces of-Mithridates were equipped

atque instructas, omnibus rebus; quo  
and supplied, with-all things (necessary for the war); and

urbem Cyzicenorum clarissimam Asiæ, que  
(that) the town of-the-Cyziceni the-most-celebrated of Asia, and



amicissimam nobis, obsessam esse ab rege ipso,  
the-most-friendly to-us, was-besieged by the king himself,

maximâ multitudine, et vehementissime  
with-a-very-great multitude (of troops) and most-violently

oppugnatum, quam L. Lucullus liberavit  
assaulted, which (town) L. Lucullus relieved

summis periculis obsidionis, virtute, assiduitate,  
from-the-greatest dangers of-a-siege, 'by (his) 'valour, perseverance,

consilio; ab eodem imperatore  
(and wise) counsel; (and that) by the same general (Lucullus)

magnam et ornatum classem superatam esse atque  
a large and well-equipped fleet was-defeated and

depressam, quæ, inflammata studio  
sunk, which, inflamed with-an-eager-desire (of vengeance),

raperetur ad Italiam Sertorianis ducibus;  
was-hurried-on towards Italy by Sertorian leaders;

præterea

[officers belonging to Sertorius's party in Spain]; moreover (that)

magnas copias hostium deletas esse multis  
large forces of-the-enemy were-destroyed in-many

præliis; que Pontum patefactum esse nostris  
battles; and (that) Pontus was-opened to-our

legionibus, qui ante clausus esset Romano populo,  
legions, which before had-been-shut to-the-Roman people,

ex omni aditu; Sinopen atque Amisum, in  
on al' (its) approaches; that Sinope and Amisus, in

quibus oppidis, erant domicilia regis ornata atque  
which towns, were the palaces of-the-king adorned and

referta omnibus rebus; que permultas ceteras urbes  
filled with-all things; and very-many other towns

Ponti et Cappadociæ captas esse, uno aditu  
of-Pontus and of-Cappadocia were-taken, 'by (his) 'mere approach

atque adventu; regem spoliatum patria  
and arrival; (that) the king deprived 'of (his) 'paternal

atque avito regno, contulisse se supplicem ad  
and ancestral kingdom, betook himself a suppliant to

alios reges, atque ad alias gentes; atque omnia  
other kings, and to other nations; and (that) all

hæc gesta esse, sociis Romani populi salvis,  
 this was-performed, the allies of-the-Roman people being-safe,  
 atque vectigalibus integris. Opिनor  
 and the revenues being entire (and undiminished). I-think

hoc esse satis laudis; atque ita,  
 (that) this is enough of-praise; and so (delivered),

Quirites, ut vos intelligatis hoc L. Lucullum  
 O Romans, that you may-understand this (that) L. Lucullus

laudatum esse similiter, ex hoc loco a  
 has-been-praised in-like-manner, from this place [the rostrum] by

nullo istorum, qui obtreçant huic legi atque  
 none of-those, who object to-this law and

causæ.

cause (of giving the command to Pompey).

9. Fortasse nunc requiretur, quemadmodum  
 Perhaps 'it-will now 'be-asked, how

cum hæc sint ita, magnum bellum possit esse  
 when these-things are so, (that) a great war can be

reliquum. Cognoscite, Quirites; enim  
 left (for us to wage). Know (then) O Romans; for

hoc videtur quæri non sine causâ. Primum  
 this seems to-be-asked not without reason. First

Mithridates sic profugit ex suo regno, ut illa Medea  
 Mithridates so fled from his kingdom, as that Medea

dicatur quondam profugisse ex eodem Ponto;  
 is-said once to-have-fled from this-same Pontus;

quam, prædicant, in fugâ dissipavisse membra  
 whom, they-say, in (her) flight had-strewed-about the limbs

sui fratris, in iis locis, qua parens  
 of-her brother, in those places, where (her) father

persequeretur se, ut dispersa collectio eorum,  
 might-follow-after her, that the dispersed collection of them,

que patrius mœror retardaret celeritatem  
 and paternal grief might-retard the celerity

persequendi. Sic Mithridates fugiens,  
 'of (his) 'pursuing (her). Thus Mithridates flying,

reliquit in Ponto omnem maximam vim auri  
 left in Pontus all (that) very-great abundance of-gold

atque argenti, que omnium pulcherrimarum  
 and of-silver, and of-all (those) most-beautiful  
 rerum, quas et acceperat a majoribus, et  
 things, which both he-had-inherited from (his) ancestors, and  
 ipse congesserat in suum regnum,  
 (which) he-himself had-collected-together in his kingdom,  
 direptas, superiore bello, ex totâ Asiâ. Dum  
 plundered, in-the-former war, from all Asia. While  
 nostri diligentius colligunt omnia hæc, rex  
 our-men diligently collect all these-things, the king  
 ipse effugit e manibus. Ita moeror  
 himself escaped out-of (their) hands. So (as) grief.  
 retardavit illum in studio persequendi,  
 retarded him (the father of Medea), in the ardour of-pursuing, (so)  
 hos lætitiâ. Tigranes,  
 these (our soldiers were retarded) by-the-delight (of plunder). Tigranes,  
 Armenius rex, excepit hunc in illo timore et  
 the Armenian king, received him in this (his) alarm and  
 fugâ, que confirmavit diffidentem suis rebus, et  
 flight, and he-encouraged (him) despairing of-his affairs, and  
 erexit afflictum que recreavit  
 'cheered (him) 'up afflicted (and cast down), (and) he-solaced (him)  
 perditum. In cujus regnum, posteaquam  
 ruined, (with new hopes). In whose kingdom, after  
 L. Lucullus venit cum exercitu, plures gentes etiam  
 L. Lucullus arrived with the army, many nations also  
 concitatae sunt contra nostrum imperatorem. Enim  
 were-excited against our general. For  
 metus injectus erat iis nationibus, quas Romanus  
 fear was-inspired into those nations, whom the Roman  
 populus nunquam putavit, neque lacesendas  
 people 'had never 'thought, either (of) harassing  
 bello, neque tendendas. Erat etiam alia  
 by-war, or (of) attempting (to do so). There-was also another  
 gravis atque vehemens opinio, quæ pervaserat per  
 grave and vehement opinion, which had-prevailed through  
 animos barbararum gentium, nostrum exercitum  
 the minds of-the-barbarous nations, (that) our army

esse adductum in eas oras causâ diripendi  
was led into those countries, for-the-purpose of despoiling

locupletissimi, et religiosissimi fani. Ita multæ  
a-very-rich, and much-revered temple. So many

atque magnæ nationes concitabantur, quodam  
and great nations were-excited (against us), by-some

novo terrore ac metu. Autem etsi noster exercitus  
new terror and fear. But although our army

ceperat urbem ex regno Tigranis, et usus erat  
had-taken a town in the kingdom of Tigranes, and had-obtained

secundis præliis, tamen commovebatur  
successful battles, however moved

nimiâ longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio  
by-the-very great distance of-the-places, and by-the-desire

suorum.

of their (friends and home, to which they wished to return). 'I-will

Non jam dicam plura hic; enim illud fuit extremum,  
not now 'say more here; for this was the extreme

ut magis maturus reditus quæreretur, ex  
(point, so) that a more speedy return was-sought-for, from

his locis a nostris militibus, quàm longior processio.  
those places by our soldiers, than a farther advance

Autem Mithridates et confirmarat

(desired.) But Mithridates 'had both revived (the confidence of)

suam manum, et juvabatur  
his-own (immediate) band (of followers), and he-was-aided

eorum, qui collegerant  
(and strengthened, by the assistance) of-those, who had assembled

se ex ejus regno, et magnis  
themselves (together) from his (own) kingdom, and by great

adventitiis copiis multorum regum et nationum.  
adventitious forces of-many kings and nations.

Jam accepimus hoc solere fere fieri sic,  
'We-have already 'understood that it usually mostly happens so,

ut afflictæ fortunæ regum, facile alliciant ad  
that the fallen fortunes of-kings, easily entice on-account-of

misericiordiam opes multorum, que maxime  
pity (for them) the assistance of-many, and most-especially



eorum, qui sunt aut reges, aut vivunt in  
of-those, who are either kings, or (who) live undæ.

regno; quòd regale nomen videatur iis,  
a-kingly-government; because the-royal name appears to-them,

esse magnum et sanctum. Itaque, victus,  
to-be great and sacred. Therefore, (though) conquered

potuit efficere tantum, quantum unquam  
he-could effect so-much (more), than 'he ever

ausus est optare incolumis. Nam  
'dared to-hope-for (when) safe, (and in prosperity). For

cum recipisset se in suum regnum, fuit non  
when he-had-returned to his kingdom, he-was not

contentus eo; quod acciderat ei  
content (to remain quiet) there; (for) this had-happened to-him

præter spem, ut posteaquam  
beyond (his) hopes, that after-that

pulsus erat; unquam attin  
he-had-been-driven (out of his-kingdom); he-should-ever touch

geret illam terran, sed fecit impetum  
that country (with his foot again), but he-made an attack

in vestrum clarum atque vitorem exercitum. Sinite  
on your renowned and conquering army. Allow

me, Quirites, hoc loc (sicut poëtæ solent, qui  
me, O Romans, in-this place (as the poets used (to do), who

scribunt Romanas res), præterire nostram  
wrote (verses) on-Roman affairs, to pass-over our

calamitatem; quæ fuit tanta, ut non nuntius ex  
calamity; which was so-great, that not a messenger from

prælio, sed rumor ex sermone  
the battle (field), but rumour through the conversation (of men)

afferret eam ad aures L. Luculli.  
brought this (news of our calamity) to the ears of L. Lucullus.

Hic in illo ipso malo, que gravissimâ offensione  
Here in this same misfortune, and 'in (this) 'most-grievous disaster

belli, L. Lucullus, qui tamen potuisset fortasse  
of-the-war, L. Lucullus, who yet might perhaps

mederi, ex parte iis incommodis, coactus vestre  
have-remedied, in part those disasters, compelled by-your

jussu, quòd putavistis veteri exemplo,  
 command, because you-thought, in accordance with-ancient example

modum statuendum diuturnitati imperii,  
 (and principles), a term was-to-be-set (to) long-continued command,

dimisit partem militum, qui jam confecti erant  
 he-discharged a part of-the-soldiers, who now had-completed

stipendiis, partem tradidit Glabroni.  
 (their) term-of-service, a part he-delivered-over to-Glabrio (his

successor). Prætereo multa consultò; sed vos  
 I-pass over many-things on-purpose; but you

perspicitis ea conjecturâ. Putetis  
 may-perceive them by-conjecture. You-may-consider (therefore)

quantum illud bellum factum, quod potentissimi  
 how-important that war is-made, which most-powerful

reges conjungant, agitatae nationes  
 kings unite-in, (which) agitated (and irritated) nations

renovant, integræ gentes suscipiant,  
 renew, (which) the entire people-of-a-country undertake, (and of

vester novus imperator accipiat,  
 which war) your new commander [Glabrio] receives

vetere exercitu pulso.  
 (the command), the old army being repulsed.

10. Videor mihi fecisse satis multa verba,  
 It seems to-me (that) I-have-made enough many words,

quare hoc bellum  
 [that I have spoken enough,] (to show you) why this war

esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine  
 might-be 'from (its) 'nature itself necessary, 'from (its) 'magnitude

periculosum; videatur restat, ut  
 dangerous; it seems (that) it remains, that

dicendum esse, de imperatore diligendo ad id  
 mention-ought-to-be-made, about the commander to-be-selected for this

bellum, ac præficiendo tantis rebus.  
 war, and the entrusting (him with) such great affairs.

Utinam, Quirites, haberetis tantam copiam  
 I-wish, O Romans, that-you-had so-great an abundance

fortium atque innocentium virorum, ut hæc vobis  
 of-brave and honest men, that this your

deliberatio esset difficilis quemnam  
 deliberation would-be difficult (in determining) whom

putaretis potissimum præficiendum  
 you-might-consider most-especially (proper) to-be-entrusted

tantīs rebus, ac tanto bello. Vero nunc  
 with-such-great affairs, and with-so-great a war. But now

cum sit Cn. Pompeius unius, qui superarit  
 when there is Cn. Pompey alone, who may-have-excelled

gloriam non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt,  
 the glory not only of those men, who now are,

sed etiam memoriam antiquitatis, virtute;  
 but also the-remembrance (of the men) of-antiquity, by (his) courage

quæ res est, quæ possit facere  
 (and merits); what thing is (there then), which can occasion

dubium animum cujusquam, in hac causâ? Enim ego  
 a doubt in-the-mind of-any-one, in this case? For I

existimo sic, in summo imperatore, has quatuor  
 consider thus, (that) in a great general, these four

res oportere inesse, scientiam militaris  
 things are-necessary (for him) to-be-possessioned-of, the-science of military

rei, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem.  
 affairs, valour, the authority (of renown), (and) good-fortune.

Quis igitur fuit aut unquam scientior,  
 Who therefore was either ever more-skilled (in military affairs),

aut debuit esse hoc homine? qui e ludo,  
 or ought to-have-been (than) this man? who from school,

atque disciplinâ pueritiæ, profectus est ad exercitum  
 and the instruction 'of (his) 'youth, went to the army

patris, atque in disciplinam  
 'of (his) 'father, and for (the purpose of receiving) instruction (in)

militiæ; maximo bello,  
 military affairs; (there being then) a-very-great war, [the social war,]

atque acerrimis hostibus; qui extremâ  
 and most-active enemies; (he,) who (thus) at the close (of his)

pueritiâ fuit miles summi imperatoris, ineunte  
 boyhood was a soldier of-a-consummate commander, on entering

adolescentiâ, ipse imperator maximi  
 (the age of) a-young-man, (was) himself the commander of-a-very-great

**exercitûs**; qui **sæpius** **confluxit** cum **hoste**,  
 army; who 'had more often 'fought with (the public) foe,

**quàm** **quisquam** **concertavit** cum **inimico**,  
 than any-one had-contended with (a private) enemy,

**gessit** **plura** **bella**, **quàm** **ceteri** **legerunt**,  
 had-waged more wars, than others had-read-of,

**confecit** **plures** **provincias**, **quàm** **alii**  
 had-settled-the-affairs (of) more provinces, than others

**concupiverunt**; **cujus** **adolescentia** **erudita** est ad  
 had-longed-for; whose youth was-trained to

**scientiam** **militaris** **rei** **non** **præceptis** **alienis**,  
 the knowledge of-military affairs not by-the-precepts (of) others,

**sed** **suis** **imperiiis**, **non** **offensionibus** **belli**,  
 but 'by his 'commands (of armies), not by-the-disasters of war,

**sed** **victoriis**, **non** **stipendiis**, **sed** **triumphis**.  
 but by-victories, not by-campaigns, but by-triumphs.

**Denique**, **quod** **genus** **belli** **potest** **esse**, **in** **quo**  
 In-fine, what kind of-war can there-be, in which

**fortuna** **reipublicæ** **non** **exercuerit** **illum**?  
 the-good-fortune of-the-republic 'may not 'have-exercised him,

**Civile**,

(and given him an opportunity, to display his abilities)? The civil (war),

**Africanum**, **Transalpinum**, **Hispaniense**,  
 the African (war), the Transalpine (war), the Spanish (war),

**mixtum** **ex** **civitatibus** **atque** **ex**  
 a mixed (war, composed) of states (revolted from Rome), and of

**bellicosissimis** **nationibus**, **servile**, **navale** **bellum**,  
 the most-warlike nations, the servile (war), the-naval war

**varia** **et** **diversa** **genera**, **et** **bellorum**  
 (against the pirates), various and diverse kinds, both of wars

**et** **hostium**, **non** **solum** **gesta** **ab** **hoc** **uno**,  
 and of enemies, 'were not only 'waged by this one (man),

**sed** **etiam** **confecta**; **declarant** **esse**  
 but also terminated (successfully); they-assert (that) there is

**nullam** **rem** **positam** **in** **militari** **usu**, **quæ**  
 no thing laid-down (or established) in military practice which

**possit** **fugere** **scientiam** **hujus** **viri**.  
 could escape the knowledge of-this man.



11. Vero jam, quæ oratio potest inveniri par  
 But now, what language can be-found equal  
 virtuti Cn. Pompeii? quid est, quod  
 to-the (military) 'virtue of-Cn. Pompey? what is there, which  
 quisquam possit afferre aut dignum illo, aut novum  
 any-one can announce either worthy of-him, or new  
 vobis, aut inauditum cuiquam? Enim neque sunt  
 to you, or unheard-of by-any-one? For neither are  
 illæ solæ virtutes imperatoris, quæ vulgo  
 those the only virtues of-a-commander, which 'are commonly  
 existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo  
 'considered (as such), (namely), industry in business, fortitude  
 in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in  
 in danger, energy in acting, rapidity in  
 conficiendo, consilium in providendo;  
 executing, (wise) counsel in foreseeing, (and providing against  
 quæ sunt tanta in hoc uno quanta  
 events); which (all) are so-great in this one (man) as  
 non fuerunt in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos  
 never were in all other commanders, whom  
 aut vidimus, aut audivimus. Italia est testis  
 'we-have either 'seen, or heard-of. Italy is a witness  
 quam. L. Sulla ipse, ille victor, confessus est,  
 (of this), which, L. Sulla himself, that conqueror, confessed,  
 liberatam virtute et subsidio hujus. Sicilia  
 was-delivered by-the-valour and assistance of him. [Pompey.] Sicily  
 est testis, quam cinctam undique multis  
 is a witness, which surrounded on-all-sides by-many  
 periculis, explicavit, non terrore belli, sed  
 dangers, he-delivered, not by-the-terror of-war, but  
 celeritate consilii. Africa est  
 by-the-celerity 'of (his) 'deliberations (and operations). Africa is  
 testis, quæ oppressa magnis copiis  
 witness, which oppressed (and overwhelmed) by-the-great forces  
 hostium, redundavit sanguine eorum ipsorum.  
 of-the-enemy, the country overflowed with-the-blood of-these same  
 Gallia est testis, per quam, iter in  
 (enemies). Gaul is a-witness, through which, a road into

Hispaniam patefactum est nostris legionibus,  
Spain was-opened for-our legions,

internecione Gallorum. Hispania est testis, quæ  
by-the-massacre of-the-Gauls. Spain is a-witness, which

sæpissime conspexit plurimos hostes superatos,  
very-often has-seen (our) many enemies overcome,

que prostratos ab hoc. Italia est sæpius et  
and prostrated by this (man). Italy is often and

iterum testis, quæ cum premeretur tetro,  
again a witness, which when it-was-hard-pressed by-the-disgraceful,

que periculoso servili bello, expetivit auxilium ab  
and dangerous servile war, requested aid from

hoc absente; quod bellum attenuatum est atque  
him absent; which war was-weakened and

imminutum expectatione Pompeii, adventu  
diminished by-the-expectation of Pompey, 'by (his) 'arrival (it)

sublatum ac sepultum. Vero jam omnes  
was-done-away-with and buried. But now all

.oræ, atque omnes exteræ gentes ac nationes,  
the coasts, and all foreign people and nations,

denique omnia maria, tum universa, tum in  
in-fine all the-seas, as-well collectively, as in

singulis, omnes sinus atque portus, testes. Enim  
particular, all the bays and harbours, (are) witnesses. For

quis locus, toto mari, habuit aut tam  
what place, in-all (the Mediterranean) sea, had either so

firmum præsidium, ut esset  
strong a protection, (and was so strongly fortified), that it-might-be

tutus, aut fuit tam abditus, ut  
safe (from the attacks of the pirates), or was so concealed, that

lateret? Quis navigavit, qui  
it-might-be-hidden (from them)? Who made-a-voyage, by-sea, that 'did

non committeret se, aut periculo mortis, aut  
not 'expose himself, either to-the-danger of death, or

servitutis, cum mari navigaretur, aut hieme, aut  
of slavery, when the sea was-to-be-navigated, either in-winter, or

referto prædonum? Quis unquam  
full of pirates (in summer)? Who ever

arbitraretur                      hoc tantum bellum, tam  
 could-have-supposed (that) this so-great a war, so  
 turpe, tam vetus, tam late dispersum, posse  
 disgraceful, so old, (and) so widely dispersed, could  
 confici, aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno  
 be-terminated, either by all the generals in one  
 anno, aut ab uno imperatore omnibus annis?  
 year, or by one general in-all the years (of his life)?  
 Quam provinciam tenuistis liberam a prædonibus,  
 What province have-you-kept free from pirates,  
 per hosce annos? quod vectigal fuit  
 through these-here (late) years? what (source of) revenue was  
 tutum vobis? quem socium defendistis? cui  
 safe for-you? what ally have-you-defended? to-whom  
 fuistis præsidio                      vestris classibus? quàm  
 were-you a guard (and defence) with-your fleets? how  
 multas insulas existimatis esse desertas? quàm  
 many islands do-you-suppose to-have-been deserted? how  
 multas urbes sociorum aut relictas metu,  
 many cities of-the-allies 'have either 'been-left through-fear,  
 aut captas prædonibus?  
 or captured by-the-pirates?

12. Sed quid ego commemoro longinqua?  
 But why 'do I 'make-mention-of distant (things)?

Hoc fuit quondam, fuit proprium Romani  
 This was formerly, (this) was the peculiarity of-the-Roman  
 populi bellare longe a domo, et defendere  
 people to-carry-on-war far from home, and to protect  
 fortunas sociorum, propugnaculis imperii,  
 the fortunes 'of (their) allies, by-all-the-defences-and-arms of-the-empire,  
 non sua tecta Ego dicam,  
 (and) not (to contend for) their houses (and homes). I say, (that)  
 mare, per hosce annos, fuisse clausum vestris  
 the sea, during these-latter years, has-been closed to-your  
 sociis, cum nostri exercitus nunquam  
 allies, when our (own) armies 'have never  
 transmiserint a Brundisio, nisi summâ  
 'crossed-over (the sea) from Brundisium, unless in-the-depth (of)

hieme? Querar qui, ab exteris  
winter? May-I (not) complain, (when those) who, from foreign

nationibus venirent ad vos, captos, cum legati  
nations were-coming to you, were-captured, when the ambassadors

Romani populi redempti sint? dicam  
of-the-Roman people had-to-be-ransomed? may-I (not) say, (that)

mare fuisse non tutum mercatoribus, cum  
the sea was not safe for-the-merchants, when

duodecim secures pervenerint in  
the twelve axes (of two prætors) had-come into

potestatem prædonum? ~~X~~ Commemorem Cnidum aut  
the power of-the-pirates? Need-I-mention Cnidus or

Colophonem, aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, que  
Colophon, or Samos, most-noble cities, and

innumerabiles alias captas esse, cum  
innumerable others (all) captured (by the pirates), when

sciatis vestros portus, atque eos portus, quibus  
you know your-own harbours, and those harbours, from-which

ducitis vitam et spiritum,  
you-draw life and breath, [from which you derive the means of

fuisse in potestate prædonum? An vero,  
sustenance,] were in the power of-the-pirates? Or indeed,

ignoratis celeberrimum portum Caietæ,  
are-you-ignorant (that) the-very-celebrated harbour of Caieta,

atque plenissimum navium, direptum esse a  
and (then) very-full of-ships, was-plundered by

prædonibus, prætore inspectante? Autem  
the pirates, a (Roman) prætor looking-on? But

ex Miseno liberos ejus ipsius, qui  
(that also) from Misenum the child of-that same (person), who

antea ibi gesserat bellum cum prædonibus,  
before 'had there 'waged war with the pirates,

sublatos esse a prædonibus? Nam quid ego  
was carried-off by the pirates? For why 'may I (not)

querar Ostiense incommodum, atque illam labem  
'complain (of) the Ostian disaster, both that stain

atque ignominiam reipublicæ, cum, vobis prope  
and ignominy of-the-republic, when, you almost



aspectantibus, ea classis, cui consul Roman  
 looking-on, that fleet, over-which a consul of-the-Roman  
 populi præpositus eset, capta atque oppressa est  
 people was-placed, was-taken and destroyed  
 a prædonibus? Pro immortales dii! Ne potui  
 by-the-pirates? By the immortal Gods! How could  
 incredibilis, ac divina virtus unius hominis  
 the incredible, and divine virtue (and courage) of-one man  
 affere tantam lucem reipublicæ  
 [Pompey] bring such-great light (and safety) to-the-republic.  
 tam brevi tempore, ut vos, qui modo videbatis  
 'in so 'short a time, that you, who not-long-since saw  
 classem hostium ante ostium Tiberinum,  
 the fleet of-the-enemy before the mouth (of the) Tiber,  
 nunc audiatis esse nullam navem prædonum  
 now hear (that) there-is no ship of-the-pirates  
 intra ostium Oceani? Atque  
 within the straits of-the-Ocean? [within the straits of Gibraltar?] And  
 quanquam videtis quâ celeritate, hæc  
 although you-see with-what rapidity, these, (things)  
 gesta sint, tamen non prætereunda sunt  
 may-have-been-done, however 'they-are not 'to-be-passed-over  
 a me, in dicendo. Enim quis unquam, aut  
 by me, in (my) discourse. For who ever, either  
 studio obeundi negotii, aut consequendi  
 with-the-desire of transacting business, or of-seeking-after  
 quæstus, potuit, tam brevi tempore, adire tot  
 gain, could, 'in so 'short a time, visit so-many  
 loca, conficere tantos cursus, quam  
 places, (and could have) performed such (long) voyages, as  
 celeriter impetus belli navigavit,  
 rapidly (as) the impetuosity of war navigated (the deep),  
 Cn. Pompeio duce? qui, mari nondum  
 Cn Pompey being leader? who, the sea 'not (being as) 'yet  
 tempestivo ad navigandum, adiit Siciliam,  
 in-a-proper-stato for navigation, sailed (to) Sicily:  
 exploravit Africam; inde venit cum classe  
 explored (the coast of) Africa; thence he-came with the fleet

Sardiniam, atque munivit hæc tria frumentaria  
to Sardinia, and he fortified these three granaries

subsidia reipublicæ, firmissimis præsiidiis que classibus.  
of the republic, with-very-strong garrisons and with-fleets.

Inde cum recepisset se in Italiam, duabus Hispaniis  
Thence when he-had-returued into Italy, the two Spains

et Cisalpinâ Galliâ confirmatâ præsiidiis ac  
and Cisalpine Gaul being-strengthened by-garrisons and

navibus, item missis navibus in oram Illyrici  
by-ships, also having-sent ships unto the coast of the Illyrican

maris, et in Achaïam que omnem Græciam.  
sea, and unto Achaia and all Greece,

adornavit duo maria Italiæ maximis classibus  
he-furnished the two seas of Italy with-very-large fleets

que firmissimis præsiidiis; autem ipse adjunxit  
and very-strong garrisons; but he-himself added

totam Ciliciam ad imperium Romani populi,  
all Cilicia to the empire of-the-Roman people,

undequingagesimo die, ut profectus est Brundisio;  
on-the-forty-ninth day, after he-had-left Brundisium;

omnes prædones, qui, ubique fuerunt,  
all the pirates, who, in-whatever-place they-were, 'were

partim capti sunt que interfecti, partim dediderunt  
partly 'captured and killed, partly they-surrendered

se imperio ac potestati hujus unius.  
themselves to-the-command and power of this one (man).

Idem Cretensibus,

[They unconditionally surrendered to Pompey.] Also to-the-Cretans,

cum misissent legatos que deprecatores ad  
(who) when they-had-sent ambassadors and intercessors to

eum, in Pamphyliam usque non ademit  
him, to Pamphylia, 'he-even did not 'take-from (them;

spem deditionis, que imperavit  
the hope (of receiving their) submission, and he-commanded

obsides. Ita Cn. Pompeius extremâ  
(them to give) hostages. Thus Cn. Pompey at-the-end (of)

hieme apparavit, ineunte vere, suscepit,  
winter prepared for, at-the-commencement (of) spring, undertook.

mediâ æstate confecit, tantum bellum  
 by-the-middle of summer terminated, (this) so-great a war (of)  
 tam diuturnum, tam longe que late dispersum, quo  
 such long-duration, so far and wide spread-out, by which  
 bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur.  
 war all people and nations were oppressed.

13. Hæc virtus imperatoris, est  
 This virtue (and talent of this) commander, is  
 divina atque incredibilis. Quid? ceteræ  
 divine and incredible. What? (his) other (virtues)  
 quas paullo ante cœperam commemorare, quantæ  
 which a little before I-began to mention, how-great  
 atque quam multæ sunt? enim non solum virtus  
 and how numerous they-are? for not only the virtue  
 bellandi querenda est in summo atque  
 (and talent) of-carrying-on-war are-required in a great and  
 perfecto imperatore, sed sunt multæ eximiæ artes  
 perfect commander, but there are many eminent qualities  
 administræ que comites hujus virtutis.  
 the-hand-maids and companions of this (military) virtue (and talent).  
 Ac primùm, quanta innocentia debent  
 And firstly, how-much honesty (and purity) ought  
 imperatores esse? deinde quanta temperantia in  
 commanders to-have? then how-much moderation in  
 omnibus rebus? quanta fides,  
 all things? how-great the-faith (and confidence that may  
 quantâ facilitate? quanto  
 be placed in them), how-very (easy of) access? how-great (their)  
 ingenio? quanta humanitate?  
 genius (and good disposition)? how-great (their) humanity?  
 quæ breviter consideremus, qualia sint  
 which (qualities) 'let-us briefly 'consider, how they-may-be  
 in Cn. Pompeio. Enim omnia  
 in, (or may be appropriate to), Cn. Pompeius. For all  
 sunt summa, Quirites, sed ea possunt  
 are (of) the highest (degree in him), O Romans, but these may  
 magis cognosci atque intelligi, ex contentione  
 better be known and understood, from comparison (with

aliorum, quam ipsa per sese. Enim quem  
 others, than they by themselves. For whom

possumus putare aliquo in numero  
 can-we reckon in-any (manner) among the number

imperatorum, in cujus exercitu, veneant  
 of-generals, in whose army, they-may-sell

centuriatus, atque venierint? quid  
 the-office-of-centurion, and may-have-sold (it)? how (can we suppose

hunc hominem cogitare magnum, aut amplum,  
 that) that man thinks (in) a great, or (in) a noble,

de republicâ, qui aut  
 and lofty (manner) concerning the republic, who 'may-have either

diviserit pecuniam depromptam ex ærario  
 'distributed the money taken-out from the-public-treasury

ad administrandum bellum, magistratibus, propter  
 to carry-on the war, among the magistrates, on-account-of

cupiditatem provinciæ, aut,  
 a desire (to retain the command) 'of (his) 'province, or,

propter avaritiam, reliquerit Romæ, in  
 on-account-of avarice, may-have-left (the money) at Rome, at

quætu? Vestra admurmuratio, Quirites, facit,  
 interest? Your murmurs, O Romans, make (it appear),

ut videamini agnoscere, qui fecerint hæc; autem  
 that you-seem to-recognise, who may-have-done this; but

ego nomino neminem; quare nemo poterit irasci  
 I mention no-one; wherefore no-one may get-angry

mihi, nisi qui ante voluerit confitere  
 {with) me, unless (he) who beforehand might-wish to-confess

de se. Itaque quis  
 concerning himself, (that he has committed such faults). Therefore who

ignorat quantas calamitates, nostri exercitus  
 is ignorant how-many calamities, our armies

ferant, quocunque ventum sit,  
 may-have-brought, in-whatever-place (they may) arrive,

propeter hanc avaritiam imperatorum?  
 on-account-of this avarice, (and rapacity) 'of (our) 'generals?

Recordamini itinera, quæ, per hosce annos,  
 Recollect the marches, which, during these-latter years



nostri imperatores fecerunt in Italiâ, per agros  
 our commanders made in Italy, through lands  
 atque oppida Romanorum civium, tum  
 and towns of Roman citizens, then 'you-will  
 facilius statuetis, quid existimetis fieri apud  
 the-more-easily 'determine, what you-may-think is-done among  
 exterâs nationes. Utrum arbitramini, per  
 foreign nations. Whether do-you-think, (that) during  
 hosce annos, plures urbes hostium deletas esse  
 these-latter years, more towns of-the-enemy have-been-destroyed  
 armis vestrorum militum, an civitates sociorum  
 by-the-arms of-your soldiers, or cities of (your) allies  
 in hibernis? Enim neque potest  
 in the winter-quarters (of your soldiers)? For neither can  
 is imperator continere exercitum, qui non  
 that commander restrain (his) army, who 'does not  
 continet se ipsum; neque esse severus in  
 'restrain himself; nor can he be strict in  
 judicando, qui non vult alios esse  
 judging (of others), who 'does not 'wish (to have) others to-be  
 severos iudices in se. Hic miramur hunc  
 strict judges over himself. Here let-us-admire this  
 hominem, tantum excellere ceteris, cujus  
 man, [Pompey,] so-much excelling (all) others, whose  
 legiones pervenerunt sic in Asiam, ut  
 legions arrived (in that state of discipline) in Asia, that  
 non modo manus tanti exercitûs, sed  
 not only (not) the hand (of any one) of-so-great an army, but  
 ne quidem vestigium dicatur nocuisse cuquam  
 not even the footstep may-be-said to-have-injured any  
 pacato? Vero jam, quotidie sermones ac  
 peaceable (person)? But now, daily reports and  
 literæ perferuntur, quemadmodum milites  
 letters are-brought (to us), how the soldiers  
 hibernent. Non modo vis  
 conduct-themselves-in-winter-quarters. Not only (that) force  
 affertur nemini, ut faciat sumptum in  
 is 'applied to-no-one, that he-should-make expens<sup>a</sup> in (maintaining)

militem; sed ne quidem permittitur cuiquam  
a soldier; but this is not even allowed to any one

cupienti. Enim nostri majores voluerunt,  
wishing (to do so). For our ancestors desired, (that)

in tectis sociorum atque amicorum, esse  
in the-houses 'of (our) 'allies and friends, (there ought) to-be

perfugium hiemis, non avaritiæ.  
a refuge (from the severity) of-winter, not (a place) of-rapacity.

14. Age vero, considerate qualis sit  
But now, consider what may-be (his)

temperantia in ceteris rebus. Unde putatis  
moderation in other things. Whence do-you-suppose

inventum illam tantam celeritatem, et tam  
originated that so-great celerity, and such

incredibilem cursum? Enim non eximia  
incredible (expeditious) voyages? For no extraordinary

vis remigum, aut quædam inaudita  
strength (or skill) of-the-rowers, or any (hitherto) unheard-of

ars gubernandi, aut aliqui novi venti,  
skill of-steering-a-vessel, or any new winds, (that)

pertulerunt illum tam celeriter in ultimas  
carried him so swiftly unto the-most-distant

terras: sed eæ res, quæ solent remorari ceteros  
lands: but those things, which used to retard other

non retardarunt; avaritia non  
(commanders) 'did not 'retard (him); avarice 'did not

devocavit ab instituto cursu ad aliquam  
'call (him) 'away from (his) intended route to any

prædam, non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas  
plunder, no lust to pleasure, no charms

ad delectationem, non nobilitas  
(of a place enticed him) to the enjoyment (of it), no renown

urbis ad cognitionem, denique.  
of-a-city (induced him) to become-acquainted (with it), in-fine,

non labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo  
not labour itself to (indulge in) repose. Lastly

signa et tabulas, que cetera ornamenta Græcorum  
the statues and pictures, and the other ornaments of Greek

oppidorum, quæ ceteri arbitrantur  
 towns, which other (commanders) suppose  
 tollenda esse, ille quidem existimavit, ea  
 might-be-taken-away, he indeed thought, (that) they  
 ne visenda sibi. Itaque nunc quidem,  
 'they-ought not 'to-be-seen by-him. Therefore now indeed  
 omnes in his locis intuentur Cn. Pompeium, sicut  
 all in those places look-upon Cn. Pompey, as  
 aliquem non missum ex hac urbe, sed  
 some-one not sent from this city, but (as one)  
 delapsum de cœlo; nunc denique incipiunt credere  
 descended from heaven; now at-length they-begin to-believe  
 fuisse quando homines Romanos,  
 (that) there-had-been once (such) men (among) the Romans,  
 hac abstinentiâ; quod jam  
 (thus distinguished) by that moderation; which (until) now  
 videbatur incredibile exteris nationibus, ac falsò  
 appeared incredible to foreign nations, and falsely  
 proditum memoriæ. Nunc splendor vestri  
 transmitted to-the-memory (of posterity). Now the splendour of your  
 imperii lucet illis gentibus. Nunc, non sine  
 empire shines (on) these nations. Now, not without  
 causâ, intelligunt, suos majores tum, cum  
 reason, they-understand, (that) their ancestors then, when  
 habeamus magistratus hac temperantiâ,  
 we-had magistrates (distinguished) by such temperance,  
 maluisse servire Romano populo, quàm imperare  
 would-rather serve the Roman people, than command  
 aliis. Jam vero, aditus ad eum privatorum  
 others. Now indeed, access to him (by) private-persons  
 dicuntur esse ita faciles, ita liberæ,  
 is-said to-be so easy, and so unrestrained (are)  
 querimoniæ de injuriis aliorum, ut is, qui  
 the complaints of the injuries of others (received), that he, who  
 excellit principibus dignitate, facilitate,  
 excels the-first-and-highest (of men) in dignity, in affability,  
 videatur esse par infimis. Jam quantum  
 seems to-be on-a-par with-the-lowest. Now how-much

valeat consilio, quantum gravitate  
 he-prevails 'by (his wise) 'counsel, how-much 'by-the weight  
 et copiâ dicendi, in quo ipso, inest  
 and copiousness of (his) speaking, in which same, there-exists  
 quædam imperatoriâ dignitas, vos, Quirites,  
 a certain commanding dignity, (which) you, O Romans,  
 sæpe cognoscitis, in hoc ipso loco. Vero  
 often experience, in this same place. [The forum.] But  
 quantam putatis ejus fidem existimari inter  
 how-great do-you-think his (good) faith was-estimated among  
 socios, quam hostes omnium gentium  
 the allies, which the enemies of-all nations [the pirates]  
 judicarint sanctissimam? Jam tantâ  
 may-have-judged (to be) most-sacred? Now by-such-great  
 humanitate est, ut sit difficile dictu, utrum  
 humanity it is (so), that it-may-be difficult to-say, whether  
 hostes timuerint ejus virtutem magis,  
 the enemy may-have-feared his valour more, (when)  
 pugnantes, an dilexerint mansuetudinem  
 fighting, or have-loved (his) mildness (more, when they  
 victi. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin  
 were) conquered. And 'will any-one 'doubt, but-that  
 tantum bellum transmittendum sit, huic  
 so-great a war (as the Mithridatic) may-be-entrusted to-him,  
 qui videatur natus esse quodam divino consilio  
 who may seem to-have-been-born by-some divine counsel  
 ad conficienda omnia bella nostræ  
 to the (successfully) finishing all the wars of our (present)  
 memoriæ?  
 recollection (and time)?

15. Et quoniam auctoritas valet multum, quoque  
 And because great-reputation avails much, as-well  
 in administrandis bellis, atque in militari imperio,  
 in carrying-on war, as in military command,  
 certe est dubium nemini, quin ea re,  
 there certainly is (no) doubt to-any-one, but-that in-this affair,  
 ille idem imperator possit plurimum. Autem quis  
 that same commander can-do much. But who



ignorat, vehementer pertinere ad administranda  
 is-ignorant, (that) it strictly belongs to the conducting  
 bella, quid hostes, quid socii existiment de  
 (of) war, what the enemy, what the allies may think about  
 vestris imperatoribus, cum sciamus, homines  
 your commanders, when we-know, (that) men  
 commoveri in tantis rebus, ut aut  
 are-moved (and excited) in such-great affairs, that either  
 contemnant aut metuant, aut oderint aut ament,  
 they-may-despise or fear, or may-hate or love (them),  
 non minus opinione et famâ, quàm aliquâ certâ  
 not less by-opinion and by-report, than by-any certain  
 ratione? Quod nomen igitur fuit unquam  
 reason (and grounds)? What name therefore was ever  
 clarius in orbe terrarum? cujus  
 more-celebrated (than Pompey's) in the world? whose  
 res gestæ pares? id quod maxime  
 exploits (have been) equal (to his)? (and) that which most-greatly  
 facit ad autoritatem; de quo homine  
 contributes to his authority (and dignity); of what man  
 vos fecistis tanta et tam præclara judicia?  
 'have you 'made so-great and so illustrious judgments?  
 An vero putatis esse usquam ullam  
 Or indeed do-you-think (that) there-was any-where any  
 oram tam desertam, quo fama illius diei  
 region so deserted, in-which the renown of-that day 'may  
 non pervaserit; cum universus Romanus populus,  
 not 'have-penetrated; when the-entire Roman people,  
 foro referto, que omnibus templis repletis,  
 the forum being-full, and all the temples being-filled,  
 ex quibus hic locus potest conspici, depoposcit sibi  
 from which this place might be-seen, demanded for themselves  
 Cn. Pompeium unum, imperatorem ad commune  
 Cn. Pompey alone, (as) commander for the common  
 bellum omnium gentium? Itaque,  
 war of-all nations? [The war against the pirates?] Therefore,  
 ut non dicam plura, neque confirmem exemplis  
 that 'I-may not 'say more, nor confirm by-the-examples

aliorum, quantùm auctoritas valeat in  
 of others, how-much authority prevails (and has influence) in  
 bello; exempla omnium egregiarum rerum  
 war; the examples of-all eminent exploits  
 sumantur ab eodem Cn. Pompeio; die  
 are-to-be-taken from this-same Cn. Pompey; on-the-day  
 quo, qui præpositus est maritimo bello a vobis  
 in-which, he was-placed-over the maritime war by you (as,  
 imperator, repente tanta vilitas annonæ  
 commander, suddenly so-great a cheapness of provisions  
 consecuta est, ex summâ inopiâ et caritate  
 followed, from the greatest want and dearness  
 frumentariæ rei, spe unius  
 of corn, by-the-hope (and confidence placed in) one  
 hominis, et nomine quantam  
 man, and (by-the renown of his) name 'such (cheapness) 'as  
 vix diuturna pax potuisset efficere, ex summâ  
 scarcely a long peace could-have effected, from the greatest  
 ubertate agrorum. \* Jam, calamitate in  
 fertility of-the-fields. Yet-now-more, the (great) calamity in  
 Ponto acceptâ, ex eo prælio, de quo paullo  
 Pontus being-sustained (by us), by that battle, of which a little  
 ante, invitus admonui vos, cum socii  
 before, 'I unwilling 'admonished you, when (our) allies  
 pertinuissent, opes que animi hostium  
 were-greatly-alarmed, (when) the powers and spirits of-the-enemy  
 crevissent, provincia haberet non satis  
 had-increased, (when) the province had not a sufficiently  
 firmum præsidium; amisissetis Asiam, Quirites,  
 strong defence; you-might-have-lost Asia (then), O Romans,  
 nisi fortuna Romani populi divinitus  
 unless the good fortune of-the-Roman people 'had providentially  
 attulisset Cn. Pompeium, id ipsum temporis, ad  
 'brought Cn. Pompey, at-that same time, into  
 eas regiones. Adventus hujus et continuit  
 those regions. The arrival of-this (man), both checked  
 Mithridatem inflammatum insolitâ victoriâ, et  
 Mithridates flushed with-unwonted victory and

retardavit Tigranem minitantem Asiæ, magnis  
retarded Tigranes threatening Asia, with-great

copiis. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid  
forces. And 'will any-one 'doubt, what

perfecturus sit virtute, qui perfecerit  
he-may-accomplish 'by (his) 'virtue (and bravery), who has-accomplished

tantum auctoritate? aut quam facile  
so-much 'by (his) 'authority (and reputation)? or how easily

conservaturus sit socios et vectigaliâ,  
'will (not) 'he-preserve (our) allies and revenues,

imperio atque exercitu, qui  
'by (his) 'command (and authority) and 'by (his) army, who

defenderit ipso nomine ac rumore?  
has-defended (them) by-his-very name and renown?

16. Vero age, illa res declarat quantam  
But come, 'does (not) this thing 'declare how-great

auctoritatem ejusdem hominis apud hostes  
was) the authority of-this-same man among the enemies

Romani populi, quod ex locis tam  
of-the-Roman people, (namely,) that from places so

longinquis, que tam diversis,  
distant, and so different (in their institutions, and far from

tam brevi tempore omnes dediderunt  
one another), 'in so 'short a time all had-surrendered

se huic uni? quod legati Cretensium,  
themselves to this one (man)? that the ambassadors of-the-Cretans,

cum esset in eorum insulâ noster imperator que  
when there was in their island our commander and

exercitus, venerunt ad Cn. Pompeium, in prope  
army, came to Cn. Pompey, unto nearly

ultimas terras, que dixerunt,  
the-most-distant countries (of the world), and said, (that)

omnes civitates Cretensium velle dedere se  
all the cities of-the-Cretans wished to-surrender themselves

ei? Quid iste idem Mithridates? nonne  
to-him? What (did) this same Mithridates (do)? 'did-he not

misit legatum ad eundem Cn. Pompeium usque in  
send an ambassador to the same Cn. Pompey even to

Hispaniam? eum quem Pompeius semper  
 Spain? he whom Pompey 'has always  
 judicavit legatum; ii, quibus erat semper  
 'considered (as) an ambassador; those, to-whom it-was always  
 molestum, esse potissimum  
 an annoyance, that (this ambassador) 'should-be more especially  
 missum ad eum, maluerunt judicari  
 'sent to him, [Pompey,] would-rather (have him) to be thought  
 speculatorem, quàm legatum. Potestis jam  
 a spy, than an ambassador. You-may now  
 igitur, Quirites, constituere quantum existimetis  
 therefore, O Romans, determine how-much you may think  
 hanc auctoritatem amplificatum, multis  
 that this authority (and influence) augmented, by-many  
 rebus gestis postea, que vestris magnis  
 exploits afterwards (performed), and by-your great  
 judiciis,  
 (and solemn) judgments (and opinions expressed in his favour),  
 valituram esse apud illos reges, quantum apud  
 will-avail with those kings, (and) how-much with  
 exteris nationes.  
 foreign nations.

Est reliquum, ut dicamus pauca et timide,  
 It remains, that we-may-say a few (words) and timidly,  
 de felicitate, quam nemo potest præstare,  
 concerning good-fortune, which no-one may show,

de se ipso,  
 (or ought to boast of) of himself (as being his own case), (but which)  
 possumus meminisse et commemorare de altero,  
 we-may remember and commemorate of another,  
 sicut est æquum homini de potestate deorum.  
 as it-is proper for-man (to speak) of the power of-the-gods,

Enim ego sic existimo  
 and their disposal of affairs). For I thus think (and am of  
 imperia sæpius mandata esse, atque  
 opinion), (that) commands 'have oftener 'been-confided, and  
 exercitus commissos Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni,  
 armies entrusted to-Maximus, to-Marcellus, to-Scipio,



Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum  
to-Marius, and to-other great commanders, not only

propter virtutem, sed etiam  
on-account-of (their) valour (and military skill), but also

propter fortunam. Enim profectò quibusdam  
on-account-of (their) good-fortune. For indeed to-some

summis viris, quædam fortuna fuit, divinitus,  
very-great men, a certain good-fortune was, by-the-favour-of-heaven,

adjuncta ad amplitudinem et gloriam, et ad  
added to (their) grandeur and glory, and for

bene gerendas magnas res; autem de  
successfully performing great exploits; but concerning

felicitate hujus hominis, de quo nunc  
the-good-fortune of-this man, of whom 'we-are now

agimus, utar hac moderatione dicendi,  
discoursing, I-will-make-use-of that moderation (in) speaking,

non ut dicam, fortunam positam esse in illius  
not that I-may-say, (that) fortune was-placed in his

potestate, sed ut videamur meminisse præterita,  
power, but that we-may-seem to-have-remembered past-things,

sperare reliqua ne aut  
(and) to hope (well for those that) remain (to come) nor either (that)

nostra oratio videatur esse invisa  
our speech may-appear to be (arrogant, or) displeasing

immortalibus diis, aut ingrata.  
to-the-immortal gods, or ungrateful (for what has been done).

Itaque non prædicaturus sum, Quirites, quantas  
Therefore 'I am not 'going-to-declare, O Romans, what-great

res gesserit domi que militæ, terrâ que mari,  
affairs he-achieved at-home and in war, by-land and by-sea,

que quantâ felicitate; ut semper, non modo  
and with-what-great good-fortune; that always, not only

cives assenserint ejus voluntatibus, socii  
the citizens assented (to) his will, the allies

obtemperarint, hostes obdierint, sed etiam  
yielded (to him), the enemies obeyed (him), but also

venti que tempestates obsecundarint. Hoc  
the winds and weather favoured (him). This I-wil

brevissime dicam unquam fuisse  
 very-briefly say (that) never (in any place) had (any one been

tam impudentem, qui tacitus auderet optare  
 so presumptuous, who silently might-dare to-wish-for

tot, et tantas res, a immortalibus diis,  
 so-many, and such-great things, from the immortal gods,

quot et quantas immortales dii detulerunt ad  
 as-many and as-great (as) the immortal gods have-granted to

Cn. Pompeium. Quod ut sit proprium ac  
 Cn. Pompey. Which that it-may-be a peculiar and

perpetuum illi, Quirites, debetis velle  
 perpetual (favour and privilege) to-him, O Romans, you-ought to-wish

et optare, (sicuti facitis), cum causâ communis  
 and to-entreat, (as you-do), as-well for-the-sake of-the-common

salutis atque imperii, tum hominis  
 safety and of-the-empire, as (for the sake) of-the-man

ipsius.  
 himself.

Quare, cum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut  
 Wherefore, when both the war is so necessary, that

possit non negligi; ita magnum, ut  
 it-can not be-neglected; so great, that

sit administrandum accuratissime; et cum possitis  
 it-is-to-be-conducted most carefully; and when you-can

præficere ei imperatorem, in quo sit eximia  
 place-over it a commander, in whom there-is the-most-excellent

scientia belli, singularis virtus, clarissima  
 knowledge of-war, uncommon bravery (and talent), illustrious

auctoritas, egregia fortuna; dubitabitis,  
 authority, (and) eminent good-fortune; will-you-doubt,

Quirites, quin conferatis hoc tantum boni,  
 O Romans, but-that you-may confer this so-great a good,

quod oblatum est, et datum vobis a immortalibus  
 which is offered, and given to-you by the immortal

diis in conservandum atque amplificandum  
 gods for preserving and aggrandising

republicam?  
 the republic?

17. Quod si Cn. Pompeius esset privatus, hoc  
 Even if Cn. Pompey were a private-person, at this  
 tempore Romæ; tamen is diligendus erat ad tantum  
 time in-Rome; yet he ought-to-be-selected for so-great  
 bellum, atque mittendus. Nunc; cum  
 a war, and to-be-sent (to carry it on.) Now; when  
 ad ceteras summas utilitates, quoque hæc  
 to the other eminent advantages, also this  
 opportunitas adjungatur, ut adsit in iis  
 opportune-circumstance may-be-added, that he-is-present in these  
 ipsis locis, ut habeat exercitum, ut possit  
 same countries, that he has an army (with him), that he-can  
 statim accipere ab eis, qui habent;  
 immediately receive reinforcements from those, who have  
 quid expectamus, aut cur non,  
 (armies there); what do-we-wait-for, or why 'do-we not,  
 immortalibus diis ducibus, committimus  
 the immortal gods (being our) leaders, 'commit  
 quoque hoc bellum regium eidem, cui  
 also this war of-the-kings to-the-same (person), to-whom  
 cetera commissa sunt, cum summa  
 the other (wars in those countries) are committed, with the greatest  
 salute reipublicæ?  
 advantage to-the republic?

At enim Q. Catulus clarissimus vir amantissimus  
 But indeed Q. Catulus a most-illustrious man (and) most attached  
 reipublicæ, affectus vestris amplissimis  
 to-the-republic, (and one) affected (honourably) by-your very-considerable  
 beneficiis; que item, Q. Hortensius præditus  
 favours; and also, Q. Hortensius (a man) endowed  
 summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis,  
 with-the-highest ornaments of honour, of fortune, of virtue, (and)  
 ingenii, dissentiunt ab hac ratione.  
 of talent, (both) dissent from this (my) opinion (of giving the

Ego confiteor, quorum  
 command to Pompey). I confess, (that) their  
 auctoritatem, multis locis, valuisse plurimum apud  
 authority, on-many occasions, has-prevailed very-much with

vos, et oportere valere; sed in hac causâ, tametsi  
 you, and ought to-prevail; but in this cause, although  
 cognoscitis, auctoritates fortissimorum  
 you-know, (that) the authority and opinions of-the-most-brave  
 et clarissimorum virorum contrarias,  
 and most-illustrious men (are) contrary (and different from  
 tamen, omissis autoritatibus,  
 one another), however, omitting the authority (of opinions),  
 possumus exquirere veritatem, re ipsâ,  
 we-can inquire-into the truth, by (examining) the affair itself,  
 et ratione; atque hoc facilius, quod  
 and (by the aid of) reason; and this the-more-easily, because  
 omnia ea, quæ adhuc dicta sunt a me,  
 all those (things), which as-yet have-been-said by me,  
 idem isti concedunt esse vera, et  
 these here-same (persons) concede to-be true, and (that)  
 bellum esse necessarium, et magnum, et  
 the war is a necessary, and a great (one), and (that)  
 omnia summa esse in Cn. Pompeio  
 all the highest (qualifications) are-to-be (found) in Cn. Pompey  
 uno. Quid igitur Hortensius ait? "Si omnia  
 only. What therefore 'does Hortensius 'say? "If all (power)  
 tribuenda sint uni, Pompeium unum  
 is-to-be-conferred-on one (person), (that) Pompey alone  
 esse dignissimum; sed tamen, non  
 is the-most-worthy (of it); but however, (that) 'it-is not  
 oportere deferri omnia ad unum." Ista  
 'proper to-grant all (power) to one (person)." This  
 oratio jam obsolevit,  
 argument 'has now 'become-obsolete, (and has no force),  
 refutata multò magis re, quàm verbis. Nam  
 having-been-refuted, much more by-facts, than by-words. For  
 tu idem, Q. Hortensi, dixisti multa, graviter que  
 you the-same, Q. Hortensius, have-said much, forcibly and  
 ornate, pro tuâ summâ copiâ, ac singulari  
 eloquently, according-to your very-great fluency, and uncommon  
 facultate dicendi, et in senatu, contra fortem  
 talent (in) speaking, both in the senate, against (that) courageous



virum A. Gabinium, cum is promulgasset legem, de  
 man A. Gabinius, when he-had-proposed the law, about  
 constituendo uno imperatore contra prædones; et  
 constituting one commander against the-pirates; and  
 ex hoc ipso loco, item fecisti verba permulta  
 from this very-same place, 'you also 'spoke much  
 contra eam legem. Quid? tum, per immortales  
 against that law. What now? then, by the immortal  
 deos! si tua auctoritas valuisset apud Romanum  
 gods! if your authority had-prevailed with the Roman  
 populum plus, quam salus Romani populi ipsius,  
 people more, than the safety of-the-Roman people itself,

vera causa, teneremus  
 (and) the true cause (and interest of the republic), would-we-possess  
 hanc gloriam, atque hoc imperium orbis terræ?  
 this glory, and this command of-the-world?  
 An hoc tum videbatur tibi esse imperium,  
 Whether 'did this then 'appear to-you to-be dominion,  
 cum legati, prætores que quæstores Romani  
 when the ambassadors, prætors and questors of-the-Roman  
 populi capiebantur? cum prohibebamur  
 people were-made-captives? when hindered (and cut off)  
 commeatu et privato, et publico, ex  
 from-supplies (of provisions) both private, and public, from  
 omnibus provinciis? cum omnia maria ita clausa  
 all the provinces? when all the seas 'were so 'closed  
 nobis, ut possemus jam neque obire privatam,  
 to us, that we-could at-that-time neither transact private,  
 neque publicam rem transmarinam?  
 nor public business beyond-the-seas?

18. Quæ civitas fuit unquam antea,  
 What city (or state) was there ever heretofore, I-do  
 non dico Atheniensium, quæ dicitur quondam  
 not say of-the-Athenians, who it-is-said formerly  
 tenuisse satis late mare, non  
 held a sufficiently extensive (command of) the sea, not  
 Carthaginiensium, qui valuerunt permultum,  
 of-the-Carthaginians, who prevailed very-much,

classe, que maritimis rebus, non Rhodiorum,  
 with (their) 'fleet, and maritime affairs, not of-the-Rhodiaus,  
 quorum navalis disciplina, et gloria remansit,  
 whose naval discipline, and naval renown has-remained,  
 usque ad nostram memoriam: quæ civitas  
 even to our memory (and time): what state

unquam antea, tam tenuis, quæ insula  
 (was there) ever heretofore, so feeble, (and) what island  
 tam parva, quæ non defenderet suos portus, et  
 so small, which 'could not 'defend its harbours, and

agros, et aliquam partem regionis, atque  
 fields, and some portion 'of (its) 'territory, and

maritimæ oræ per se ipsa? At Hercle, aliquot  
 maritime coast by itself (alone)? But by-Hercules, for-some

continuos annos, ante Gabiniam legem, ille Romanus  
 successive years, before the Gabinian law, that Roman

populus, cujus nomen permanserat  
 people, whose name (and renown) has-remained (as)

invictum in navalibus pugnīs, usque ad  
 unconquered in naval battles, even to (within)

nostram memoriam, caruit magnâ,  
 our memory, have-felt-as-if-deprived-of a great,

ac multò maximâ parte, non modò utilitatis,  
 and (of) much the greatest part, not only of-what-is-useful,

sed dignitatis atque imperii;  
 [namely, the revenues,] but 'of (their) 'dignity and 'of (their) 'empire;

nos, quorum majores classe superarunt regem  
 we, whose ancestors 'by (their) 'fleet conquered king

Antiochum que Persen, que omnibus navalibus  
 Antiochus and Perses, and in-all nava!

pugnīs vicerunt Carthaginienses, homines  
 engagements defeated the Carthaginians, men

exercitatissimos in maritimis rebus, que paratissimos,  
 most-skilled in maritime affairs, and well-provided

ii poteramus, in  
 (with every thing relating thereto), we (the same) could, in

nullo loco, esse jam pares prædonibus; nos, qui  
 no place, be now equal to-the-pirates; we, wh

antea non modò habebamus Italian tutam, sed  
heretofore not only kept Italy safe, bu  
poteramus præstare omnes socios, in ultimis  
we-could show all (our) allies, in the-most-distant  
oris, salvos autoritate nostri imperii; tum,  
coasts, to-be-safe by-the-authority of-our empire; then,  
cum insula Delos, tam procul a nobis, posita  
when the island of-Delos, so far-distant from us, situated  
in Ægeο mari, quo omnes commeabant  
in the Ægean sea, in-which all (merchants) assembled  
cum mercibus atque oneribus,  
with the gains (of their commerce), and the freights (of their ships),  
parva sine muro, referta divitiis,  
(though) small (and) without walls, (and) filled with-riches, (yet)  
timebat nihil; iidem carebamus non modò  
it-feared nothing; (but) even-we are-deprived-of not only  
provinciis, atque maritimis oris  
(the intercourse) with-the-provinces, and the sea coasts  
Italiæ, ac nostris portubus, sed etiam jam  
of-Italy, and our harbours, but also now (even)  
Apiâ viâ; et his temporibus, magistratus  
from-the-Apian road; and in-these times, a magistrate  
Romani populi non pudebat ascendere in hunc  
of-the-Roman people 'was not 'ashamed to-come-up into this  
ipsum locum, cum vestri majores  
very-same place, [the rostra,] when your ancestors  
reliquissent eum vobis ornatum nauticis exuviis,  
had-bequeathed it to you adorned with naval trophies,  
et spoliis classium. (against the pirates, on Pompey).  
and the spoils of fleets, (and address you against conferring the command.

19. Romanus populus, Q. Hortensi, existimavit,  
The Roman people, O Q. Hortensius, considered,  
te et ceteros, qui erant in eâdem sententiâ,  
that you and the others, who were of the same opinion,  
dicere ea, quæ sentiebatis, bono animo;  
spoke that, which you-thought, with-a-good (and sincere) mind;  
sed tamen idem Romanus populus, in  
but however the same Roman people, in (an affair concerning)

**communi salute, maluit obtemperare suo dolori,**  
 the common safety, preferred to-obey their own painful-feelings  
**quàm vestræ auctoritati. Itaque**  
 (of fear and shame), than (to yield) to-your authority. Therefore  
**una lex, unus vir, unus annus, non modò**  
 one law, one man, [Pompey,] one year, not only  
**liberavit nos, illâ miseriâ ac turpitudine; sed**  
 delivered us, from-that misery and infamy; but  
**etiam effecit, ut aliquando videremur omnibus**  
 also caused, that once (again) we-might-appear to-all  
**gentibus ac nationibus, vere imperare terrâ que**  
 people and nations, really to-command by-land and  
**mari. Quo etiam videtur mihi indignius**  
 by-sea. For which 'it also 'appears to-me more-unworthy  
**obtrectatum esse adhuc, dicam Gabinio**  
 that-opposition-should-have-been-made hitherto, shall-I-say to Gabinius  
**anne Pompeio, an utrinque? (id quod est verius),**  
 or to-Pompey, or to-both-of-them? (that which is more-likely),  
**ne A. Gabinius legaretur,**  
 lest A. Gabinius might-be-chosen-a-lieutenant (of Pompey), (though)  
**Cn. Pompeii, expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum**  
 Cn. Pompey (himself), desiring and requesting (it). Whether  
**ille, qui postulat legatum ad tantum bellum, est**  
 he, who requests a lieutenant for so-great a war, it-is  
**non idoneus, qui impetret quem velit, cum**  
 not proper, (that) he should-obtain whom he-wishes, when  
**ceteri eduxerint ad expilandos**  
 other (commanders) have-taken-out (with them) to pillage  
**socios, que diripiendas provincias, legatos, quos**  
 the allies, and plunder the provinces, the lieutenants, whom  
**voluerunt; an debet ipse, cujus lege**  
 they-desired; whether ought he, [Gabinus,] 'by whose law  
**salus ac dignitas constituta est,**  
 safety and dignity has-been-placed (on a sure basis),  
**Romano populo, atque omnibus gentibus esse**  
 for-the-Roman people, and for-all nations is to-be  
**expers gloriæ**  
 (prevented from participating in, and) (be) deprived of-the-renown



imperatoris, atque ejus exercitûs, qui  
 of the-commander, and of-his army, which  
 constitutus est ipsius consilio atque  
 was-constituted (and appointed) 'by his 'counsel and  
 periculo? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cælius  
 'at (his) 'risk? Whether C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cælius  
 Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, omnes quos nomino,  
 Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, all whom I-mention  
 causâ honoris, cum fuissent tribuni  
 for-the-cause of-honour, [out of respect,] when they-had-been tribunes  
 plebis, proximo anno, potuerunt  
 of-the-people, in the next year (after their tribuneship), could  
 esse legati; in hoc Gabinio uno, sunt  
 be lieutenants; in (opposition to) this Gabinus alone, are  
 tam diligentes, qui deberet præcipuo jure  
 (people) so active, who ought by-an-especial right  
 esse etiam, in hoc bello, quod geritur Gabiniâ  
 to-be also, in this war, which is-carried-on by-the-Gabinian  
 lege, in hoc imperatore, atque exercitu,  
 law, (and) under this commander, [Pompey,] also in (this) army,  
 quem constituit per vos ipse? de  
 which he-constituted through yourselves (by your suffrages)? about  
 legando quo, spero consules relatueros ad  
 'appointing whom 'a-lieutenant, I-hope the consuls will-refer (it) to  
 senatum. Qui si dubitabunt,  
 the senate (for their favourable action). Who if they-should-hesitate  
 aut gravabuntur, ego memet profiteor relaturum;  
 or be-reluctant, I myself declare (that) I-will-refer  
 neque inimicum edictum  
 (the matter to them); neither 'shall the inimical edict  
 cujusquam, Quirites, impediet me, quo  
 of-any-one (of the consuls), O Romans, 'hinder me, that not  
 minus, fretus vobis, defendam vestrum jus  
 the less, relying on-you, I-should-defend your right  
 que beneficium; neque audiam quidquam,  
 and favour (conferred); neither will-I-listen (to) any-thing,  
 præter intercessionem; de  
 except the interposition [veto] (of the tribunes); concerning

quâ (ut arbitror), isti ipsi, qui minantur,  
 which (as I-think), these same (persons) who threaten (opposition),  
 etiam atque etiam considerabunt, quid liceat.  
 will again and again 'consider, what may-be-allowed

Quidem meâ sententiâ, Quirites,  
 (to them to do). Indeed in-my opinion, O Romans,

A. Gabinius unus adscribitur, socius  
 A. Gabinius alone is-to-be-enrolled, (as) an associate (in sub-

Cn. Pompeio maritimi belli, que  
 (ordinate command) for Cn. Pompey (in) the maritime war, and

rerum gestarum; propterea quod alter  
 the exploits (thereof); because that the one [Gabinius]

detulit id bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis  
 gave that war to-be-undertaken by-your suffrages

uni; alter delatum, que susceptum,  
 to-one (man), [Pompey]; the other having-received, and undertaken,

confecit.  
 finished (it).

20. Reliquum est, ut videatur  
 It remains, as it-appears, (that something;

dicendum esse, de auctoritate et sententiâ  
 is-to-be-said, concerning the authority and opinion

Q. Catuli; qui cum quæreret ex vobis, si poneretis  
 of Q. Catuli; who when he-inquired of you, if you-place

omnia in Cn. Pompeio uno, si quid  
 all (your trust) in Cn. Pompey alone, if any-thing

factum esset de eo, in quo essetis habituri spem;  
 should-happen him, in whom would-you-place (your) trust;

cepit magnum fructum suæ virtutis  
 'he [Catulus] 'received a great reward for-his virtue

ac dignitatis, cum omnes, prope unâ voce,  
 and dignity, when 'you all, nearly with-one voice,

dixistis, "vos habituros esse spem in ipso."  
 'said, (that "you would-place (your) hope in himself."

Etenim est talis vir, ut sit nulla res  
 For 'he [Catulus] 'is such a man, that there is no thing

tanta ac tam difficilis, quam ille possit non et  
 so-great and so difficult, that he can not both

regere consilio, et tueri integritate,  
 direct (it) 'by (his) 'counsel, and defend (it) 'by (his) 'integrity,  
 et conficere virtute. Sed in hoc ipso  
 and accomplish (it) 'by (his) 'valour. But in this same (case)  
 vehementissime dissentio ab eo, quòd, quo  
 'I most-vehemently 'differ from him, because, by-how-much  
 minus certa, ac minus diuturna, est vita hominum,  
 less certain, and less lasting, is the life of man,  
 hoc magis, respublica debet frui vitâ  
 by-so-much the more, the republic ought to-make-use-of the life  
 atque virtute summi hominis, dum licet per  
 and talents of-an-illustrious man, while it-is-allowed by  
 immortales deos. At enim nihil  
 the immortal gods (to do so). But indeed (you may say) 'let nothing  
 novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta  
 new 'be-done contrary to the examples and practices  
 majorum. Non dico hoc loco, nostros  
 'of-our-'ancestors. 'I-will not 'say in-this place, (that) our  
 majores in pace semper paruisse consuetudini,  
 ancestors in peace always conformed to usage, (and;  
 in bello utilitati, semper  
 in war to-utility (and expediency), (that) 'they always  
 accommodasse rationes novorum  
 'accommodated plans (resulting from their) new  
 consiliorum, ad novos casus temporum; non  
 deliberation, to new emergencies of-the-times; 'I-will not  
 dicam, duo maxima bella, Punicum  
 'mention, (that) two very-great wars, the (third) Punic (with Carthage)  
 et Hispaniense esse confecta, ab uno  
 and the Spanish were-carried-through (successfully), by one  
 imperatore, duas potentissimas  
 commander, [the younger Scipio,] (that) two most-powerful  
 urbes, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, quæ maxime  
 cities, Carthage and Numantia, which very-much  
 minitabantur huic imperio, esse deletas, ab eodem  
 threatened this (our) empire, were destroyed, by the same  
 Scipione; non commemorabo, nuper  
 Scipio; 'I-will not 'remind-you, (that) some-short-time-since

visum esse ita vobis que vestris patribus, ut  
 it-seemed equally proper to-you and to-your fathers, that  
 spes imperii poneretur in C. Mario uno,  
 the hopes of-the-empire should-be-placed in C. Marius alone, (so)  
 ut idem administraret bellum cum Jugurthâ,  
 that the same [Marius] should-conduct the war with Jugurtha,  
 idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonibus,  
 the same (person) with the Cimbri, (and) the same with the Teutoni,  
 recordamini in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in  
 recollect in (the case of) this same Cn. Pompey, as-respects  
 quo Q. Catulus vult nihil novi constitui, quàm  
 whom Q. Catulus wishes nothing new to-be-adopted, how  
 multa nova sint constituta  
 many new (things) may-there have-been-adopted (in Pompey's favour)  
 summâ voluntate Q. Catuli.  
 with-the-highest approbation of Q. Catulus.

21. Enim quid tam novum, quàm privatum  
 For what (was) so new, (as) that a private  
 adolescentulum conficere exercitum difficile  
 young-man should-levy an army in-a-critical  
 tempore republicæ? confecit; præesse huic?  
 time of-the-republic? he-did-levy (it); to command it?  
 præfuit; gerere rem optime  
 he-did-command (it); (and) to-carry-through the affair most-successfully,  
 suo ductu? gessit.  
 by-his-own guidance, (and in person)? he-did carry it through (success-  
 fully). Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quàm  
 fully). What (can be) so contrary to-usage, than (for)  
 imperium atque exercitum dari peradolescenti  
 command and an army to-be-given to-a-very-young  
 homini, cujus ætas longe abesset a senatorio  
 man, whose age 'was far 'distant from the senatorial  
 gradu? Siciliam, atque  
 degree? [from the age required for a senator?] 'to-have Sicily, and  
 Africam, permitti que administrandum bellum  
 Africa 'to be confided (to him), and to carry on the war  
 in ea? Fuit in his provinciis  
 in them? He-was in these provinces (distinguished)



singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute;  
 'by (his) 'uncommon honesty, dignity, (and) valour;  
 confecit maximum bellum in Africâ, deportavit,  
 he-terminated a-very-great war in Africa, (and) brought-back,  
 victorem exercitum. Quid vero tam inauditum,  
 (his) victorious army. What indeed so unheard-of,  
 quàm Romanorum equitem triumphare?  
 as-that a Roman knight should-have-a-triumph-granted

At eam rem quoque Romanus populus, non  
 (to him)? But this thing also the Roman people, not  
 modo vidit, sed etiam putavit visendam, et  
 only saw, but also thought (that) it-ought-to-be-seen, and  
 celebrandam omni studio. Quid tam inusitatum,  
 celebrated with-all zeal. What so unusual,  
 quàm ut, cum essent duo clarissimi que  
 than that, when there were two most-illustrious and  
 fortissimi consules, Romanus eques mitteretur  
 most-brave consuls, (that) a Roman knight should-be-sent  
 ad maximum, que formidolosissimum bellum  
 to (carry on) a very-great, and most-dangerous war  
 pro consule? Missus est. Quo tempore quidem,  
 for the consul? (Yet) he-was-sent. At which time indeed,

cum esset nonnemo in senatu, qui diceret,  
 when there-was an individual in the senate, who said, (that)  
 privatum hominem oportere non mitti pro consule;  
 a private man ought not to-be-sent for the consul;

dicitur; L. Philippus dixisse,  
 [as proconsul] it-is-said; (that) L. Philippus said (on the occasion),

“suâ sententiâ se non mittere illum pro  
 (that) “in-his opinion he 'would not 'send him for

consule, sed pro consulibus.” Tanta spes  
 the consul, but for (both) the consuls.” So-great 'was the hope

constituebatur in eo bene gerendæ  
 'placed in him 'of well 'conducting (the affairs of)

reipublicæ, ut munus duorum consulum committeretur  
 the republic, that the office of-the-two consuls might-be-entrusted

virtui unius adolescentis. Quid  
 to-the-valour (and talents) of-one young-man. What (is there)

tam singularis, quàm ut, ex senatusconsulto,  
so extraordinary, as that, by a decree-of-the-senate,

solutus legibus, fieret  
being-freed from the laws (fixing the age for holding office), he-was-made

consul, ante quàm licuisset, per leges, capere  
consul, before that it-was-allowed, by the-laws, (for him) to-hold

ullum alium magistratum? Quid tam incredibile,  
any other magistracy? What so incredible,

quàm ut iterum, Romanus eques  
as that a-second-time, a Roman knight

triumpharet, ex  
should have-the-honour-of-a-triumph-awarded-to-him, by

senatusconsulto? quæ nova  
a-decree-of-the-senate? whatever new (or unusual precedents)

constituta sunt, in omnibus hominibus, post  
have-been-established, in (the case of) all (other) men, since

memoriam hominum, ea sunt non tam multa,  
the memory of-man, (all) these are not so many,

quàm hæc, quæ vidimus in hoc uno homine.  
as those, which we-see in this one man. [Pompey.]

Atque hæc tot exempla, tanta ac  
And these so-numerous examples (of dispensation), so-great and

tam nova, profecta sunt in eundem hominem  
so novel, have-originated in (favour of) this-same man

a auctoritate Q. Catuli, atque a  
[Pompey] from the authority of Q. Catuli, and from (that)

ceterorum amplissimorum hominum ejusdem  
of other illustrious men of-the-same

dignitatis.  
dignity.

22. Quare videant, ne sit periniquam, et

Wherefore let-them-see-to-it, lest it-may-be very-unjust, and

non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem,  
not to-be-borne-with, (that) their authority (and opinion),

de dignitate Cn. Pompeii,  
respecting the dignity (and elevation) of Cn. Pompey, (which dignity)

semper comprobata esse a vobis, vestrum  
has always been-approved-of by you, (that) your

judicium de eodem homine, quæ auctoritatem  
 judgment concerning the same man, and the authority

Romani populi improbari ab illis; præsertim,  
 of the Roman people should-be blamed by them; especially,

eum Romanus populus, jam suo jure, possit  
 when the Roman people, (now) in their own right, can

defendere suam auctoritatem in hoc  
 defend their authority (and opinion), as respects this

homine, vel contra omnes, qui dissentiant; propterea  
 man, even against all, who may dissent; because

quòd, iisdem istis reclamantibus, vos delegistis  
 that, these very-same objecting, you selected

illum unum ex omnibus, quem præponeretis  
 him alone from all, whom you might-place-over

bello prædonum. Si vos fecistis hoc temere, et  
 the war (with) the pirates. If you did this rashly, and

parum consulistis rei publicæ; recte  
 (but) little consulted (the interests) of the republic; rightly 'did

isti conantur regere vestra  
 these (persons here present) 'endeavour to-regulate (and guide) your

studia suis consiliis; autem sin vos tum  
 wishes (and resolves) by-their counsels; but if you then

vidistis plus in republica;  
 saw more (deeply) into (the interest of) the republic (than they did);

vos, his repugnantibus, per vosmet ipsos attulistis  
 (if) you, these opposing, by yourselves have-conferred

dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum;  
 dignity to-this empire, (and) safety to-the-circle-of-the-earth;

aliquando isti principes  
 [the world]; (so that) at-length these chiefs (of the senate)

fateantur, et sibi, et ceteris,  
 may-confess, (that it is necessary) both for-themselves, and others,

parendum esse auctoritati universi Romani populi  
 to-obey the authority 'of-the-entire Roman people.

Atque in hoc Asiatico bello, et regio,  
 And in this Asiatic war, and regal (war with the kings),

non solum illa militaris virtus, quæ est singularis in  
 not only that military talent, which is eminent in

Cn. Pompeio, sed quoque multæ aliæ et  
 Cn. Pompey (is required), but also many other and  
 magnæ virtutes animi requiruntur. Est  
 great virtues (and qualities) of-the-mind are-required. It-is  
 difficile, vestrum imperatorem ita versari, in  
 difficult, (that) your commander 'be so 'employed, in  
 Asiâ, Cilicia, Syriâ, que regnis interiorum  
 Asia, Cilicia, Syria, and in-the-kingdoms of-the-interior  
 nationum, ut cogitet nihil aliud, quàm de  
 nations, that he-may-think-of nothing else, than concerning  
 hoste, ac de laude. Deinde etiam, si sunt  
 the enemy, and concerning renown. Then, also, if there-are  
 qui moderatiores pudore ac  
 (those) who (are) more-held-in-restraint by-shame and  
 temperantiâ, tamen nemo arbitratur eos  
 the-control-of-themselves, yet no-one thinks (that) they  
 esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum  
 are such, on-account-of the multitude of-covetous (and rapacious)  
 hominum. Est difficile dictu, Quirites, in quanto  
 men. It-is difficult to-say, O Romans, in what-great  
 odio simus apud exterâs nationes,  
 hatred (and unpopularity) we-are among foreign nations,  
 propter injurias ac libidines eorum, quos  
 on-account-of the injuries and (wicked) licentiousness of-those, whom  
 missimus ad eas, per hos annos cum imperio.  
 we-have-sent to those (nations) during these (late) years with command.  
 Enim quod fanum putatis, in illis terris  
 For what temple do-you-think, in those countries, (has-been)  
 religiosum nostris magistratibus, quam  
 religiously-sacred (in the eyes of) our magistrates, what  
 civitatem sanctam, quam domum  
 city (has been held) sacred, what (private) house  
 fuisse satis clausam ac munitam? locupletes ac  
 has-been sufficiently shut and fortified? rich and  
 copiosæ urbes jam requiruntur, quibus  
 opulent cities 'are now 'sought-for, against which (some)  
 causa belli inferatur, propter cupiditatem  
 cause (or pretext) of war may-be-alleged, on-account-of the desire



deripiendi.

Libenter disputarem hæc  
of plundering (them). 'I-would willingly 'discuss these (things)coram, cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et  
publicly, with Q. Catulus and Q. Hortensius, most eminent andclarissimis viris; enim noverunt vulnera sociorum.  
illustrious men; for they-have-known the wounds of-the allies;vident eorum calamitates; audiunt querimonias.  
they-see their calamities; they-hear (their) complaints.Putatis vos mittere exercitum contra hostes  
Do-you-think (that) you send an-army against the enemypro sociis, an simulatione  
for (the protection of your) allies, or-rather under-the-pretence (of act-ing against) hostium, contra socios atque  
enemies, (really to act) against allies andamicos? quæ civitas est in Asiâ, quæ possit  
friends? what city is there in Asia, which cancapere animos, ac spiritus,  
comprehend (or satisfy) (the greedy) mind, and (rapacious) spirit,non modo imperatoris, aut legati, sed unius  
not only of-a-commander, or of-a-legate, but (even) of-a-single

tribuni militum?

tribune of-the-soldiers?

23. Quare, etiam si habetis quem, qui, signis

Wherefore, also if you-have any-one, who, the standards

collatis, videatur posse  
being collected, [the battle having commenced] may seem to-be-ablesuperare regios exercitus; tamen nisi erit idem,  
to-overcome the royal armies; however, unless he-be one,qui possit cohibere se a pecuniis sociorum,  
who can restrain himself from the money of-the-allies,qui manus, oculos, animum,  
who (can restrain) (his) hands, (his) eyes, and (his) mind,(and desires) ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui  
from their wives and children, who(can restrain them) ab ornamentis fanorum, atque  
from the ornaments of-the-temples, andoppidorum, qui ab auro que regia  
of-the-towns, who (likewise can keep them) from the gold, and royal

gaza; non erit idoneus, qui mittatur ad  
 treasures; 'he-will not 'be a-proper-person, who may-be-sent to  
 Asiaticum que regium bellum. Putatis, ecquam  
 the Asiatic and royal war. Do-you think, (that) any  
 civitatem pacatam fuisse, quæ sit locuples?  
 city has-been-subdued, which may-be rich? (or  
 ecquam esse locupletem, quæ videatur istis  
 any (city, that) is rich, which may-seem to-these  
 pacata esse? Maritima ora, Quirites,  
 (commanders) to-be-subdued? The sea coast, O Romans,  
 requisivit Cn. Pompeium, non solum propter  
 requested Cn. Pompey, not only on-account-of  
 gloriam militaris rei, sed etiam propter  
 the renown 'of (his) 'military exploits, but also on-account-of  
 continentiam animi. Enim,  
 the moderation 'of (his) 'mind. For, (the people inhabiting the sea  
 videbat, Romanum populum non locupletari  
 coast) saw, (that) the Roman people 'were not 'made-richer  
 quotannis, publicâ pecuniâ, præter paucos;  
 from-year-to-year, by-the-public money, except a few;  
 nos neque assequi quidquam aliud,  
 (and that) 'we neither 'attained any-thing else,  
 nomine classium, nisi ut, detrimentis  
 by-the-name 'of (our) 'fleets, unless that, injuries (and losses)  
 accipiendis, videremur affici majore  
 being-sustained, we-might-seem to-be-affected with greater  
 turpitudine. Nunc, quâ cupiditate,  
 disgrace. Now, with-what cupidity (to obtain money),  
 quibus jacturis, quibus  
 with-what bribery, (made to influential persons), with-what  
 conditionibus, homines  
 engagements, (entered into for the obtaining command), men  
 profisciscantur in provincias, isti ignorant  
 go to the provinces, are-these-here ignorant-of  
 videlicet, qui non arbitrantur omnia  
 forsooth, who 'do not 'think (that) all (command)  
 deferenda esse ad unum? Quasi vero, videamus  
 is-to-be-conferred on one? As if-indeed, 'we-might(not) 'perceive

Cn. Pompeium esse magnum, cum suis virtutibus,  
Cn. Pompey to-be great, as-well by-his-own virtues,

tum etiam vitiis alienis. Quare nolite dubitare,  
as also by-the-vices (of) others. Wherefore do-not doubt,

quin credatis omnia huic uni, qui, inter  
but-that you-may-entrust all to-this one (man), who, for

tot annos, unus inventus sit, quem socii  
so many years, 'has alone 'been-found, whom the allies

gaudeant venisse in suas urbes cum exercitu.  
rejoice (to see) come into their towns with an army.

Quod si, Quirites, putatis hanc causam

But if, O Romans, you-think this cause, (of giving the sole

confirmandam auctoritatibus;  
command to Pompey), ought-to-be-confirmed by authorities;

vobis est auctor, P. Servilius, vir  
you-have (as) adviser-of-the-measure, P. Servilius, a man

peritissimus omnium bellorum, que maximarum  
most-experienced (in) all the wars, and (in) the greatest

rerum: cujus res gestæ tantæ, terrâ que mari,  
affairs: whose exploits so-great, by-land and sea,

exstiterunt, ut, cum deliberetis de bello,  
have-excelled (so much), that, when you-deliberate concerning war,

nemo debeat esse vobis gravior  
no-one ought to-be (considered) by-you (as) a-more-weighty

auctor: est C. Curio præditus vestris  
adviser-in-this-measure: there is C. Curio endowed with your

summis beneficiis, summo ingenio et prudentiâ,  
highest favours, with-the-greatest talent and prudence,

que gestis maximis rebus; est Cn. Lentulus,  
and having-performed the greatest exploits; there-is Cn. Lentulus,

in quo, omnes cognovistis, pro vestris  
in whom, 'you all 'have-known, by-reason-of your

amplissimis honoribus, esse summum  
most ample honours, there is the greatest (wisdom of)

consilium, summam gravitatem; est  
counsel, (and) the greatest weight (of character); there is

C. Cassius, integritate, virtute,  
C. Cassius, (distinguished by his) integrity, virtue, (and)

singulari constantiâ. Quare videte,  
 uncommon constancy (and perseverance). Wherefore see (then),

num videamur posse respondere orationi illorum,  
 whether we-appear to-be-able to-reply to-the-speech of-those,

qui dissentiunt, auctoritatibus horum.  
 who dissent-from (us), by-the-authorities of-these (men mentioned).

24 Quæ cum sint ita, C. Manili, primum

Which things when they-are so, O C. Manili, in-the-first-place,

laudo, que vehementissime comprobo et istam tuam  
 I praise, and most-vehemently approve both this your

legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam;  
 law, and the purpose (intended by it), and the opinion

deinde hortor te, ut, Romano  
 (respecting the commander); next I-exhort you, that, the Roman

populo auctore, maneat in  
 people approving (and abetting), you-may-remain (steadfast) in (your,

sententiâ, neve pertimescas vim, aut minas  
 opinion, nor (that) you-may-fear the violence, or threats

cujusquam. Primum, arbitror, esse satis  
 of-any-one. In-the-first-place, I-believe, (that) there is enough

perseverantiæ animi in te; deinde cum videamus  
 of-perseverance of-mind in you; next, when we-see

tantam multitudinem adesse, cum tanto studio,  
 so-great a multitude assembled-here-present, with so-great zeal

quantam nunc videmus iterum  
 (for the cause), as-much-as 'we now 'see a second time

in præficiendo eodem homine;  
 (displayed) in appointing-to-command the-same man; [Pompey;]

quid est, quod dubitemus, aut de re  
 what is there, that we-may-doubt, either concerning the affair

aut de facultate perficiendo. Autem ego,  
 or of the power (of) accomplishing it. But I,

quidquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii,  
 whatever is in me of-zeal, of-counsel, of-industry, of-talent,

quidquid possum hoc beneficio Romani  
 whatever I-am-able-to-do by-this kindness of-the-Roman

populi, atque hac prætoriâ  
 people (in bestowing office on me), and by-this prætorian





quidquid susceptum est, in hac causâ mihi,  
 whatever has-been-undertaken, in this cause (by) me,  
 Quirites, confirmo me suscepisse id omne  
 O Romans, I-assure (you, that) I undertook it all,  
 causâ reipublicæ; que tantum abest,  
 for-the-cause (and interest) of-the-republic; and so-much is-it-therefrom,  
 ut videar quæsisse mihi aliquam bonam  
 that I-may-seem to-have-sought for-myself any good  
 gratiam, ut, etiam intelligam,  
 offices (or favours of others), that, 'I also 'understand, (that)  
 suscepisse multas similitates partim obscuras,  
 I-have-become many enmities partly hidden,  
 partim apertas, non necessarias  
 partly open, (enmities) not necessary (to be incurred by)  
 mihi, non inutiles vobis. Sed ego statui,  
 me, (but) not without-use to-you. But I determined, (that)  
 oportere me præditum hoc honore,  
 it behoved me invested with-this honour (of the prætorship),  
 affectum, Quirites, vestris tantis beneficiis,  
 (and) affected, O Romans, by-your so-many favours, (that)  
 vestram voluntatem, et dignitatem reipublicæ, et  
 your will, and the dignity of-the-republic, and  
 salutem provinciarum atque sociorum, præferre  
 the safety of-the-provinces and of-the-allies, were-to-be-preferred  
 omnibus meis commodis et rationibus.  
 to-all my-own advantage and affairs (and interests).

ORATIO  
THE ORATION  
M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,

PRO  
FOR

L. MURENA.  
L. MURENA

~~~~~

1. Quæ deprecatus sum a immortalibus diis,  
That-which I-entreated from the immortal gods,  
judices, more que instituto majorum,  
O judges, (according to) the usage and institutions 'of (our) 'ancestors,  
illo die, quo auspicato, comitiis  
on-that day, on-which the-auspices-were-taken, 'I, in the comitia  
centuriatis, renuntiavi L. Murenam consulem;  
centuriata, 'declared L. Murena consul (elect);  
ut ea res eveniret bene  
(namely), that that affair (of the election) might-eventuate advantageously  
atque feliciter mihi que meo magistratui, populo,  
and happily to-me and to my magistracy, to-the-nation,  
que plebi Romanæ: precor eadem ab eisdem  
and people of-Rome: I-pray-for the-same-thing of the same  
immortalibus diis, ob obtinendum consulatum  
immortal gods, on entering-upon the consulship (by)  
ejusdem hominis, unâ cum salute,  
the same man, together with (his personal) safety (and privileges),  
et ut vestræ mentes atque sententiæ consentiant  
and that your minds and opinions may agree  
(242)

cum voluntatibus que suffragiis Romani populi,  
with the wishes and suffrages of-the-Roman people,

que ea res afferat vobis, que  
and (that) this affair (of your agreement) may-bring to-you, and

Romano populo, pacem, tranquillitatem, otium, que  
to-the-Roman people, peace, tranquillity, ease, and

concordiam. Quòd si illa solemnis precatio  
concord. For if that solemn prayer (offered up in

comitiorum, consecrata consularibus  
the assembly) of-the-comitia, hallowed by-consular

auspiciis, habet tantam vim, et religionem in  
auspices, has so-great a power, and religious-effect in

se, quantam dignitas reipublicæ postulat;  
it, as the dignity of-the-republic requires;

idem ego sum precatus, ut quoque eis  
at-the-same-time I prayed, that also to-these-same

hominibus, quibus hic consulatus datus esset, me  
men, to-whom this consulship had-been-granted, I

rogante, ea res  
(presiding over the assembly, and) asking (their opinion), the same thing

eveniret fauste, feliciter, que prospere.  
might-turn-out auspiciously, happily, and prosperously.

Quæ cum sint ita, iudices, et cum omnis  
Which-things when they-are so, O judges, and when all

potestas immortalium deorum aut translata sit ad  
the power of-the-immortal gods 'is either 'transferred to

vos, aut certe communicata cum vobis, idem consul  
you, or certainly shared with you, the same consul

commendat eum vestræ fidei, qui  
recommends him (Murena) to-your faith (and protection), who

antea commendavit immortalibus diis; ut et  
before had-recommended (him) to-the-immortal gods; so-that (he) both

declaratus consul voce ejusdem hominis,  
declared consul by-the-voice of-the-same man, (Cicero)

et defensus, tueatur beneficium  
and defended (by the same), he-may-watch-over the favours

Romani populi, cum vestrâ salute, atque  
of-the-Roman people, (together) with your safety, and (that)



omnium civium. Et quoniam in hoc  
 of-all the citizens. And because in (the discharge of) this  
 officio, studium  
 duty (which I have undertaken, of defending Murena), the zeal  
 meae defensionis, atque etiam ipsa susceptio  
 of my defence (of him), and even the-very undertaking  
 causæ, reprehensa est ab accusatoribus;  
 of-the-cause (itself), has-been-reprehended by the accusers;  
 antequam instituo dicere pro L. Murenâ,  
 (therefore) before I-commence to plead for L. Murena,  
 dicam pauca pro me ipso; non quò,  
 I-will-say a few (words) respecting my self; not because,  
 defensio mei officii sit potior  
 the defence of-my duty (in this cause) may-be preferred (as of more  
 mihi, quidem in hoc tempore, quàm  
 importance) to-me, even at this time, than (the defence)  
 salutis hujusce, sed ut, meo facto  
 of-the-safety of-this-same (person); but that, my acts (in this case)  
 probato vobis, possim majore auctoritate,  
 being-approved by-you, I-may-be-able with-greater authority  
 propulsare impetus inimicorum, ab  
 (and weight), to-repel the-attacks 'of (his) 'enemies, upon  
 hujus honore, famâ, que omnibus fortunis.  
 his honour, fame, and all (his) fortunes.

2. Et primum, respondebo M. Catoni,  
 And in-the-first-place, I-will reply to M. Cato, (who is  
 dirigenti vitam ad certam normam  
 in the habit of) regulating life according-to a certain rule  
 rationis, et diligentissime perpendenti momenta  
 of-reason, and diligently weighing the value  
 officiorum omnium, de meo officio.  
 of-the-duties of-all, concerning my-own duty (in this cause).  
 Cato negat, fuisse rectum me et  
 Cato denies, (that) it-was right (or proper, that) I both  
 consulem, et latorem legis  
 consul, and (also) proposer of-the-law (against)  
 ambitûs, et tam severe  
 bribery-and-improper-influence-to-obtain-office, and 'having so severely

gesto consulatu,  
 and strictly 'discharged (the duties of) the consulship, 'should (in the  
 attingere, causam  
 slightest degree) 'touch, (or have any thing to do with) the cause  
 L. Murenæ. Cujus reprehensio vehementer movet  
 of L. Murena. Whose reprehension vehemently moves  
 me, ut non solum problem  
 (and excites) me, so that not only 'I-may (explain and) 'prove  
 vobis, judices, rationem mei facti  
 to-you, O judges, the reason of-my action (and conduct), (and)  
 quibus debeo maxime, verum etiam ut  
 to-whom I-ought especially (to do so), but also that (I ought  
 Catoni ipsi, gravissimo atque  
 to do the same) to Cato himself, a most-respectable and  
 integerrimo viro. A quo tandem, M. Cato, est  
 upright man. By whom in-fine, O M. Cato, is-it  
 æquius, consulem defendi, quam a consule?  
 more-just, (that) a consul should-be-defended, than by a consul?  
 Quis, in republica, potest, aut debet esse conjunctor  
 Who, in the republic, can, or ought to-be more-united  
 mihi, quàm is, cui respublica traditur, a me uno,  
 to-me, than he, to-whom the republic is-delivered, by me alone,  
 sustinenda, sustentata meis magnis laboribus et  
 to-be-sustained, having-been-upheld by-my great labours and  
 periculis? Quòd si, in iis rebus repetendis,  
 dangers? For if, in those things demand-is-made-for-recovery.  
 quæ sunt Mancipi, is debet præstare periculum  
 which are warranted-property, he ought to-incur the risk  
 judicii, qui obligavit se nexu,  
 of-a-trial, who has-bound himself by-the-obligation (of warranting the  
 profectò etiam rectius, in judicio consulis  
 tale), certainly also more-justly, in the trial of a consul  
 designati, is consul potissimum, qui declaravit  
 elect, that consul most-especially, who declared (him)  
 consulem, debet esse auctor beneficii  
 consul, ought-to-be the guarantee (for him) of-the-favours  
 Romani populi, que defensor periculi.  
 of-the-Roman people, and (his) defender (in case) of danger.

Ac, si, ut in nonnullis civitatibus solet fieri,  
 And, if, as in some states it-is-the-custom to-be-done,  
 patronus huic causæ constitueretur  
 an (advocate or) patron for-this cause should-be-appointed  
 publice, is potissime daretur  
 publicly (by the authorities), he 'would most-especially 'be-assigned  
 defensor, affecto honore, qui,  
 as-a-defender, to-the-one-invested with-the-honour (of office), who,  
 præditus eodem honore, afferret non  
 endowed with-the-same honour (of office himself), might-bring no  
 minus auctoritatis, quàm facultatis ad dicendum.  
 less authority, than ability to (his) pleading.  
 Quod si, ii, qui jam invehuntur ex alto  
 For if, those, who now are-brought (by the winds) from the high  
 in portum solent præcipere summo  
 (sea) into the harbour are-accustomed to-give with-the-greatest  
 studio, solventibus portu, et rationem  
 care, (those) leaving the harbour, both an-account  
 tempestatum, et prædonum, et locorum;  
 of-the-storms, and of-the-pirates, and of (the dangerous) places;  
 quod natura fert, ut faveamus eis, qui  
 because nature impels (us), that we-favour those, who  
 ingrediantur eadem pericula, quibus nos  
 are-about-to-undergo the same dangers, which we  
 perfuncti sumus: quo animo tandem  
 have-gone-through: in-what (state of) mind 'is-it then  
 oportet me esse, jam prope videntem terram,  
 'proper (that) I should-be, now near seeing land,  
 ex magâ jactatione, in  
 after a great tossing (on the stormy sea of public life), as-respects  
 hunc, cui, video, esse subeundas maximas tempestates  
 him, who, I-see, is-about encountering the greatest storms  
 reipublicæ? Quare si est boni consuli,  
 of-the-republic? Wherefore if it-is (the part) of-a-good consul,  
 non solum videre, quid agatur, verum etiam  
 not only to-see-to, what 'is (now) 'doing, but also  
 providere, quid futurum sit; ostendam,  
 to-foresee, what may-hereafter-be (the state of affairs); I-will-show

alio loco, quantum intersit communis salutis,  
 in-another place, how-much it-interests the common safety

esse duos consules, in republica  
 (that) there-should-be two consuls, in the republic

kalendis Januariis. Quod si est  
 on-the-kalends-of-January. [On the first of January.] Which if it-is

ita, non tam officium debuit vocare me  
 so, not so-much (my) duty ought to-call-on me (to defend)

fortunas hominis amici, quam respublica  
 the fortunes of-a-man (my) friend, as (that) the republic

consulem ad defendendam communem  
 (should call on) the consul to defend the common

salutem.

safety.

3. Nam quòd tuli legem de ambitu,  
 For that I-proposed the law concerning bribery,

certe ita tuli,  
 (and corrupt means of obtaining office), 'I certainly 'did so 'propose (it),

ut non abrogarem eam, quam tulerim  
 that 'I-might not 'abrogate that (law), which I-had-proposed

jampridem mihi met ipsi de defendendis  
 long-since to-my-own self, concerning defending (and warding

periculis civium. Etenim si confiterer  
 off) the dangers of (my) fellow citizens. For if I-were-to-confess

largitionem esse factum, que defenderem id,  
 (that) bribery was committed, and should-defend it, (as)

esse recte factum, facerem improbe,  
 'having-been rightly 'done, I-would-act unjustly (and reprehend-

etiam si alius tulisset legem: vero cum  
 sibly), even if another (person) had-proposed the law: but when

defendam, nihil commissum esse contra  
 I maintain, (that) nothing has-been-done (by Murena) against

legem, quid est, quòd latio legis impediatur  
 the law, what is-there, that the proposing of-the-law should-hinder

meam defensionem? Negat esse  
 my defence (of him)? He (Cato) denies (that) it-is

ejusdem severitatis,  
 in consonance with) the same severity (and strictness),



expulisse                      urbe                      Catilinam                      molientem  
 to-have-expelled                      from-the-city                      Catiline                      plotting  
 exitium                      reipublicæ                      intra mœnia,                      verbis  
 the destruction                      of-the-republic,                      within the walls (thereof), by-words,  
 et pene imperio;                      et nunc dicere                      pro  
 and almost by-command,                      and now to-plead the cause of  
 L. Murenâ. Autem ego                      semper libenter egi has  
 L. Murena.                      But I                      'have always                      willingly 'acted those  
 partes lenitatis et misericordiæ, quas natura ipsa  
 parts of-mildness and of-compassion, which nature herself  
 docuit me:                      non vero appetivi illam personam  
 has-taught me: 'I-did not indeed 'seek-for that character  
 gravitatis que severitatis, sed, impositam mihi  
 of-rigour and of-severity, but, being imposed on-me  
                     ab republica, sustinui, sicut dignitas  
 (as a duty) by the republic, I-sustained (it), as the dignity  
 hujus imperii postulabat, in summo periculo  
 of-this empire required, amid the greatest danger  
 civium. Quod si tum, cum respublica desiderabat  
 of-the-citizens. And if then, when the republic required  
 vim et severitatem, vici naturam, et fui  
 force and severity, I-conquered (my) nature, and was  
 tam vehemens quàm cogebar, non quàm volebam:  
 as rigorous as I-was-forced-to-be, not as I-wished:  
 nunc, cum omnes causæ vocent me ad misericordiam,  
 now, when all motives call me to compassion,  
 atque ad humanitatem, quanto studio tandem debeo  
 and to humanity, with-what ardour then ought-I  
 servire meæ naturæ que consuetudini?  
 to-indulge my nature and habits (inclined to humane, and  
                     At de officio meæ defensionis,  
 friendly feelings)? But concerning the duty of-my defence  
                     ac de ratione tuæ accusationis,  
 (of Murena), and concerning the motives of-your accusation  
                     etiam fortasse erit nobis dicendum  
 (of him), (there) also perhaps will-be (occasion) for-us to-speak  
 in aliâ parte orationis.  
 in another part of-the-oratio.

Sed, judices, conquestio Ser. Sulpicii, sapientissimi

But, O judges, the complaint of Ser. Sulpicius, a most-wise

atque ornatissimi hominis, commovebat me non  
and most-accomplished man, moved me no

minus, quam accusatio Catonis: qui dixit  
less, than the accusation of Cato: who [Sulpicius] said

ferre gravissime et acerbissime, me  
(that he) bore very-heavily and very-bitterly, (that) I

oblitum familiaritatis que  
having-forgotten (the claims) of-long-acquaintance and

necessitudinis defendere causam  
of-intimate-and-binding-friendship was-defending the cause

L. Murenæ contra se. Ego cupio, judices, satisfacere  
of-L. Murena against him. I desire, O judges, to-satisfy

huic, que adhibere vos arbitros. Nam cum  
him, and employ you as umpires (between us). For when

est grave, accusari vere in amicitia, tum,  
it-is a serious (thing), to-be-accused truly in friendship, so,

etiam si falsò accuseris, est non negligendum.  
even if 'you-be falsely 'accused, it-is not to-be-neglected.

Ego Ser. Sulpici confiteor, et me debuisse tibi,  
I O Ser. Sulpicius confess, (that) both I owed you,

in tuâ petitione, omnia  
in your application (and canvass for the consulship), all (my)

studia atque officia, pro nostrâ necessitudine,  
zeal and (good) offices, according-to our intimate-friendship,

et arbitror præstitisse.  
and I-think (that) I-have-performed (the same, by giving all the assist

Defuit nihil a me  
ance in my power). There-lacked nothing on my (part, to assist)

tibi petenti consulatum, quod postulandum esset, aut  
you soliciting the consulship, that could-be-required, either

ab amico, aut a gratiosso, aut  
from a friend, or from a favoured (and influential person), or

a consule. Illud tempus abiit; ratio  
from the consul. That time has-gone-by; the motive (of action)

mutata est. Existimo sic, sic persuadeo mihi,  
is-changed. I-think so, and so persuade myself, (that)

me debuisse tibi tantum contra honorem  
 I owed you as-much (assistance) against the advancement  
 L. Murenæ, quantum tu ausus sis  
 of-L. Murena (to the consulship), as you might-venture  
 postulare a me; contra salutem,  
 to require-of from me; (but that) against (his personal) safety,  
 debere nihil. Neque enim, si tum adfui tibi,  
 I-owe (you) nothing. Nor indeed, if 'I then 'stood-by you,  
 cum peteres consulatum, debeo idcirco nunc, cum  
 when you-sought the consulship, ought-I for that reason now, when  
 petas Murenam ipsum, esse adiutor  
 you-seek (to injure) Murena himself, to-be (your) assistant  
 eodem pacto. Atque hoc non modo non  
 by-the-same agreement. And this not only 'is not  
 laudari, sed potest ne quidem concedi, ut,  
 'to-be-praised, but can not indeed be-conceded, that,  
 nostris amicis accusantibus, non defendamus  
 our friends accusing, 'we-might not 'defend  
 etiam alienissimos.  
 even the-greatest-strangers.

4. Autem, iudices, est et vetus, et magna  
 But, O judges, there-is both an old, and great  
 amicitia cum Murenâ mihi, quæ non  
 friendship with Murena (and) me, which (friendship) 'shall not  
 idcirco obruetur a Ser. Sulpicio, in dimicatione  
 for-such-reason 'be-overwhelmed by Ser. Sulpicius, in a capital  
 capitis, quòd ab eodem  
 trial, (involving all the civil rights of Murena), because by the same  
 superata est in contentione  
 (Sulpicius, this friendship) was-overcome in a contest (for)  
 honoris. Quæ causa si esset non,  
 the honour (of office). Which motive (of friendship), if it-were not  
 tamen vel dignitas hominis,  
 (in existence), yet either the dignity (and high rank) of-the-man,  
 vel amplitudo ejus honoris, quem adeptus est,  
 or the-great-dignity of-his office, which he-has obtained,  
 inussisset mihi summam famam superbiæ  
 'could-have-branded me (with) the greatest stigma of-pride

que crudelitatis, si repudiassem causam tanti  
and of-cruelty, if I-had-repudiated a cause of-so-much

periculi, hominis amplissimi, et suis ornamentis  
danger, of-a-man most-distinguished, both by-his-own honours

et Romani populi. Neque enim licet  
and (by those) of-the-Roman people. Neither indeed is-it-allowed

mihi jam, neque est integrum, ut non  
me now, nor is-it wholly-in-my-power, that 'I-should not

impertiam meum laborem, sublevandis  
'impart my labour (and assistance), in-alleviating

periculis hominum. Nam cum tanta præmia  
the dangers of-men. For when such-great rewards

data sint mihi pro hæc industria,  
have-been-given to-me, for this industry (in defending others),

quanta antea nemini;  
as before-this (have been conferred) on-none (for like services),

deponere labores, per quos ceperis ea,  
to-desist-from labours, by which you-obtained those (honours),

cum adeptus sis, esset hominis,  
when you-have-obtained (them), would-be (the part) of-a-man,

et astuti et ingrati. Si quòd licet  
both cunning and ungrateful. If however it-would-be-allowed (for me)

desinere, si, te auctore, possum,  
to-desist (from my labours), if, you being the adviser, I-might (do so),

si nulla turpitudine inertiae, nulla superbiae,  
if no disgrace (or reproach) of-indolence, none of-arrogance,

nulla culpa inhumanitatis suscipitur; ego  
no fault of-inhumanity is-incurred (thereby); I (would)

vero libenter desino. Sin autem fuga laboris  
indeed willingly desist. But if the shunning of-labour

coarguit desidiam, repudiatio supplicum superbiam,  
proves idleness, the rejection of-suppliants (proves) arrogance,

neglectio amicorum improbitatem;  
(and) the neglect of-friends (proves) worthlessness; (and)

nimirum hæc causa est ejusmodi, quam nec  
indeed this cause is of-that-kind, which neither

industrius, nec misericors, nec officiosus possit  
an industrious, or merciful, or obliging (man) can



deserere. Atque hujusce rei, Servi, facillime  
 abandon. And of this thing, O Servius, 'you may very-easily

ceperis conjecturam de tuo ipsius studio  
 'form an opinion, from your own pursuits (as a lawyer).

Nam si putas necesse tibi, etiam respondere  
 For if you-think-it necessary for-you, also to-give-legal-advice

adversariis tuorum amicorum, consulentibus de  
 to-the-enemies of-your friends, consulting (you) respecting

jure; et si existimas turpe, te advocato,  
 the law; and if you think (it) shameful, you having been counsel,

illum ipsum,  
 (and given your advice and opinion), (that) the same (person),

contra quem veneris, cadere causa;  
 against whom 'you (now) 'appear, should-lose (his) cause;

noli esse tam injustus, ut, cum tui fontes  
 resolve-not to-be so unjust, that, when your springs

pateant vel tuis inimicis,  
 (of legal knowledge) are-open, even to-your enemies, (that)

putes nostros rivulos oportere esse  
 you-would-think (that) our (small) rivulets ought to-be

clausos etiam amicis. Etenim si familiaritas  
 closed, also 'to (our) 'friends. For-indeed, if (my) long-friendship

tua removisset me ab hoc causâ, et si hoc idem  
 (for) you had-removed me from this cause, and if this same

accidisset Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso, clarissimis  
 had-happened to Q. Hortensius, to M. Crassus, most-distinguished

viris, si item ceteris, a  
 men, (and engaged in this case for Murena), if also to-others, by

quibus intelligo tuam gratiam magni  
 whom I-know your favour and (esteem) 'is greatly

æstimari; consul designatus non haberet  
 'prized; the consul elect 'would not 'have

defensorem, in eâ civitate, in quâ nostri majores  
 a defender, in that city, in which our ancestors

voluerunt unquam deesse patronum  
 had-resolved that never should-there-be-wanting a patron

nemini infimo. Ego ipse  
 (and de'ender) to-any-one, (even of) the lowest-degree. I myself

vero, judices, existimarem me nefarium, si  
indeed, O judges, would-consider myself a-wicked-man, if

defuissem amico, crudelem, si  
I-were-wanting to (my) friend, a-cruel-man, if (I were wanting)

misero, superbum si consuli.  
to-one-in-distress, an-arrogant-man, if (I were wanting) to-the-consul

Quare quod dandum est amicitiae, larg  
Wherefore whatever is-to-be-conceded to-friendship, will-be freely

dabitur a me, ut agam cum te, Servi, non  
'given by me, so-that I-will-act with you, O Servius, in no

secus, ac si esset meus frater, qui est carissimus  
otherwise than if (it) were my brother, who is most-dear

mihi, in isto loco. Quod  
to me, (stood) in this same place (that you are). Whatever

tribuendum est officio, fidei, religioni,  
is-to-be-yielded to-duty, to (good) faith, (and) to-religion,

moderabor id ita, ut meminerim, me dicere  
I-will regulate it so, that I-may-remember, (that) I am-pleading

pro amici periculo, contra studium  
for (the safety) of-a-friend in-danger, against the attacks 'of (another)

amici.

'friend.

5. Intelligo, judices, fuisse tres partes  
I-understand, O judges, (that) there-were three parts

totius accusationis, et unam earum  
of-the-entire accusation, and (that) one of-them

versatam esse, in reprehensione vitae,  
has-been-taken-up, in the censure (of his mode of) life,

alteram in contentione  
the other in contesting (his claims, on account of his not being of

dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus  
the proper rank and) dignity, (and) the third with the crimes

ambitûs. Atque harum trium  
of-bribery (and corruption in the election). And of-these three

partium, illa prima, quæ debeat esse gravissima,  
parts, that first, which ought to-have-been the-most-grave,

fuit ita infirma et levis, ut magis lex  
was so weak and trifling, that rather the law, 'respecting)

quædam accusatoria coëgerit illos dicere aliquid,  
certain (forms of) accusation, forced them to-say something,

de vitâ L. Murenæ, quàm vera facultas  
concerning the life of L. Murena, than (any) real power

maledicendi. Enim Asia objecta est  
of-criminating (him). For Asia has-been objected (to him as a

quæ non expetita est ab hoc ad  
reproach) which 'was not 'sought by him, for (the purpose

voluptatem et luxuriam, sed  
of indulging in) pleasure and luxury, but which

peragrata in militari labore. Qui si adolescens,  
he-traversed in military duty. Who if (when) a-young-man,

suo patre imperatore, non meruisset;  
his-own father being commander, 'he-had not 'served

videretur, aut timuisse hostem, aut  
(in the army); he-would-seem, either to-have-feared the enemy, or

imperium patris, aut repudiatus a parente.  
the command of-his-father, or to-have-been-repudiated by his parent.

An cum filii prætextati  
Whether when the sons, (under 17 years, and) wearing-the-prætexta  
triumphantium soleant potissimum sedere in equis;  
of-those-triumphing used especially to-sit on the horses

fugiendum fuit huic decorare  
(drawing the triumphal car); was-it-to-be-avoided (by) this one, to adorn

triumphum patris militaribus donis,  
the triumph 'of (his) 'father, 'with (his own) 'military rewards,

ut, rebus gestis communiter,  
so-that, by-exploits performed together, (it might be said that)

pæne triumpharet simul cum patre? Hic  
'he nearly 'triumphed together 'with (his) 'father? This (man)

vero, judices, et fuit in Asiâ, et fuit magno  
then, O judges, both was in Asia, and was a great

adjumento fortissimo viro suo parenti in periculis,  
assistance to-the-very-brave man his father in dangers,

solatio in laboribus, gratulationi in  
a comfort (to him) 'in (his) 'labours, a congratulation (to him) in

victoriâ. Et, si Asia habet quandam suspicionem  
victory. And, if Asia has a certain suspicion

luxuriæ. non unquam vidisse Asiam, sed  
 of luxury, not (that) 'he ever 'saw Asia, but (that)  
 vixisse continenter in Asiâ, laudandum est. Quamobrem  
 he-lived temperately in Asia, is-to-be-praised. For-which-reason  
 nomen Asiæ fuit non objiciendum Murenæ, ex  
 the name of-Asia was not to-be-objected to Murena, from  
 quâ laus constituta est familiæ, memoria  
 which renown was constituted (and arose) 'for (his) 'family, a memorial  
 generi, honos et gloria nomini: sed  
 'for (his) 'race, (and) honour and glory 'to (his) 'name: but  
 aliquod flagitium ac dedecus aut susceptum  
 some debauchery and scandalousness (was) either acquired  
 in Asiâ, aut deportatum ex Asiâ. Vero  
 (by him) in Asia, or (when) brought from Asia. But  
 meruisse stipendia in eo bello,  
 to-have-earned pay [to have served in the army] in that war,  
 quod tum Romanus populus gerebat, non modò  
 which then the Roman people waged, not only  
 maximum, sed etiam solum, fuit  
 the greatest, but also the only-one, was (a proof) 'of (his)  
 virtutis: libentissime meruisse, patre  
 'valour: 'to-have-most-willingly 'served (in the army, his) father  
 imperatore, pietatis: finem  
 being commander, 'of (his filial) 'piety: (that) the termination 'of (his)  
 stipendiorum fuisse victoriam ac triumphum  
 'military) services was the victory, and triumph  
 patris, felicitatis. Idcirco  
 'of (his) 'father, (and which was a proof) 'of (his) 'good-fortune. Therefore  
 quidem in hisce rebus, est nihil loci maledicto,  
 indeed in these things, there-is no room for-censure,  
 quod laus occupavit omnia.  
 because praise has-taken-up all (the place).

# 6. Cato appellat L. Murenam saltatorem. Si

Cato calls L. Murena a dancer. If (this is)

vere objicitur, est maledictum vehementis  
 truly objected (to him), it-is the reproach of-a-violent  
 accusatoris; sin falso maledici conviciatoris.  
 accuser; but-if falsely (it is that) of-a-slandering calumniator.



Quare cum sis istâ auctoritate,  
 Wherefore when you-are (of) such authority (and weight of character),  
 debes non, M. Cato, arripere maledictum ex  
 you-ought not, O M. Cato, to-snatch calumny out-of  
 trivio, aut ex aliquo convivio  
 the-cross-streets, (where idlers meet), or from some carousal  
 scurrarum, neque temere vocari consulem Romani  
 of-buffoons, nor rashly to-call the consul of-the-Roman  
 populi saltatorem: sed conspiciere, quibus vitiis  
 people a dancer: but to-consider, with-what vices  
 præterea sit necesse eum affectum esse,  
 besides it-may-be necessary (that) he should-be-affected,  
 cui istud possit vere objici. Enim fere nemo  
 to-whom this may-be truly objected. For almost no-one  
 saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit; neque  
 dances, (when he is) sober, unless perhaps he-is-crazy; neither  
 in solitudine, neque in moderato atque honesto  
 in solitude, nor in a moderate and decent  
 convivio. Saltatio est extrema comes tempestivi  
 feast. Dancing is the last companion of-prolonged  
 convivii, amœni loci, multarum  
 feasting, of-pleasant (and luxurious) places, (and) of-many (voluptuous)  
 deliciarum. Tu arripis id mihi, quod  
 pleasures. You catch-at that, (it seems to) me, which (it)  
 est necesse omnium vitiorum esse  
 is necessary (that) of-all vices (it should) be  
 postremum: relinquis illa, quibus  
 the last: you-leave those (things unnoticed), which  
 remotis, hoc vitium potest non omnino esse.  
 being-removed, this vice can not at-all exist.  
 Nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non  
 No disgraceful feasting, no improper love, no  
 commissatio, non libido, non sumptus  
 revelling, no lust, no extravagance-in-expenditure  
 ostenditur. Et, cum ea non reperiantur,  
 is-shown. And, when those (things) 'are not found,  
 quæ habent nomen voluptatis, quæ quæ sunt vitiosa;  
 which have the name of-pleasure, and which are vicious: (he)

in quo potes non reperire luxuriam ipsam, in eo  
in whom you-can not find luxury itself, in him

putas te reperturum umbram luxuriæ?  
do you-think (that) you will-find the shadow of-luxury?

Potest nihil igitur dici in vitam L. Murenæ?  
Can nothing therefore be-said against the life of L. Murena?

Inquam nihil omnino, judices. Consul designatus  
I-say nothing at-all, O judges. The consul elect 'is

sic defenditur a me, ut nulla fraus,  
thus (and on those grounds) 'defended by me, that no fraud,

nulla avaritia, nulla perfidia, nulla crudelitas, nullum  
no avarice, no perfidy, no cruelty, no

petulans verbum ejus proferatur. Habet  
lascivious word of-his can-be-brought-against (him). It-is

bene: fundamenta defensionis jacta sunt. Enim  
well: the foundations of-the-defence are-laid. For

nondum defendimus bonum virum, atque  
we-are not-as-yet 'defending a good man, and

integrum hominem, nostris laudibus, quibus postea  
upright man, by our praises, which hereafter

utar, sed prope confessione inimicorum.  
I-will-make-use-of, but almost by-the-confession 'of (his) 'enemies.

7. Quo constituto, aditus ad  
Which (first part) being-established, the approach to  
contentionem dignitatis, quæ fuit  
the contest (respecting his) dignity (and rank), which was

altera pars accusationis, est facilius mihi.  
the second part of-the-accusation, is more-easy for-me.

Video esse in te, Ser. Sulpici, summam  
I-see (that) there-is in you, O Ser. Sulpicius, the highest  
dignitatem generis, integritatis, industriæ, quæ  
dignity of-birth, of-integrity, of-industry, and

omnium ceterorum ornamentorum, fretum quibus,  
of-all other accomplishments, relying on-which,

est par aggredi ad petitionem consulatûs.  
it-is proper (for you), to-attempt to apply (for) the consulship.

Cognosco ista esse paria in  
I-know that-these-same (virtues and endowments) are equally-so in

L. Murenâ, atque ita paria, ut neque ipse poterit  
 L. Murena, and so equal, that neither he-himself could-be  
 vinci dignitate, neque  
 surpassed in-dignity (and worth by you), nor 'can-he (Murena,  
 superarit te dignitate. Contempsisti genus  
 'surpass you in-dignity. You-have-despised the family  
 L. Murenæ; extulisti tuum. Quo loco, si  
 of L. Murena; you-have-extolled your-own. On-which subject, if  
 sumis hoc tibi, nisi qui sit patricius,  
 you-assume this to-yourself (to assert), except he who is a patrician,  
 neminem esse natum bono genere; facis, videatur,  
 no-one is born of-a-good family; you-act, it-would-seem,  
 ut rursus plebes sevocanda in Aventinum.  
 that again the people were-to-be-called-out to the Aventine hill.  
 Autem sin sunt amplæ et honestæ plebeïæ  
 But if there-are distinguished and honest plebeian  
 familiæ; et proavus, et avus  
 families; (and indeed) both the great-grandfather, and grandfather  
 L. Murenæ fuerunt prætores, et pater, cum  
 of-L. Murena were prætors, and (his) father, when  
 triumphasset amplissime atque honestissime  
 he-had-triumphed most-splendidly and honourably (for exploits  
 ex præturâ, hoc reliquit huic  
 performed) in (his) prætorship, (and) thereby left to-him  
 faciliorem gradum adipiscendi  
 a-more-easy step [and thereby prepared the way for him] of-obtaining  
 consulatûs, quod is jam debitus patri  
 the consulship, because it 'was already 'due to-the-father  
 petebatur a filio. Vero tua nobilitas, Ser. Sulpici,  
 was-sought by the son. But your nobility, O Ser. Sulpicius,  
 tametsi est summa, tamen est notior  
 although it-is (of the) highest (order), yet it-is more-known  
 literatis hominibus et historicis, vero obscurior  
 to-literary men and historians, but less-known  
 populo et suffragatoribus. Enim pater fuit  
 to-the-people and to-the-voters. For (your) father was  
 equestri loco; avus celebratus nullâ  
 in-the-equestrian rank; (your) grandfather was-celebrated by no

illustri laude. Itaque non ex recenti sermone  
 illustrious reputation. Therefore not from the modern discourse  
 hominum, sed ex vetustate annalium est memoria  
 of-men, but from the antiquity of-annals is the remembrance  
 tuæ nobilitatis eruenda. Quare ego soleo  
 of-your nobility to-be-extracted. Wherefore I am-accustomed  
 semper aggregare te in nostrorum numerum, quod,  
 always to-associate you in our number, because,  
 cum esses filius Romani equitis virtute que  
 when you-are the son of-a-Roman knight, 'by (your) 'virtue and  
 industriâ perfecisti, tamen  
 industry, you-have-attained (such reputation, that) yet  
 putarere dignus summâ amplitudine:  
 you might-be-thought worthy of-the-highest honours (of the state):  
 nec unquam visum est mihi esse minus virtutis  
 nor 'did-it ever 'seem to-me to-be less of-virtue  
 in Q. Pompeio, novo homine, et fortissimo viro,  
 in Q. Pompeius, a new man, and a-most-brave man,  
 quàm in nobilissimo homine, M. Æmilio. Etenim  
 than in (that) most-noble man, M. Æmilius. For  
 est ejusdem animi atque ingenii, tradere  
 it-is (a part) of-the-same mind and talent, to-transmit  
 suis posteris, quod Pompeius fecit, amplitudinem  
 to-his posterity, which Pompeius did, the greatness (and honour)  
 nominis, quam non acceperat;  
 of-a-name, which 'he had not 'received (from his parents);  
 et, ut Scaurus, renovare, virtute prope  
 and, like Scaurus, to-renew, 'by (his) 'virtue, the nearly  
 intermortuam memoriam sui generis.  
 extinct remembrance of-his family.

8. Quanquam ego jam putabam, iudices,

Although I heretofore did-think, O judges, (that it)

perfectum esse meo labore, ignobilitas  
 had-been-brought-about by-my exertion, (that) want-of-nobility

generis ne objiceretur multis fortibus viris; qui  
 of-birth 'might not 'be-objected to-many brave men; who

jacebant, non modò commemorandis  
 remained-neglected, not only (when) mentioning (and pointing out)



Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis, illis antiquis,  
 the Curii, the Catoes, the Pompeii, those ancient,  
 fortissimis viris, novis hominibus, sed his  
 most-brave-men, (and) new men, but these  
 recentibus, Mariis, Didiis, et Cæliis. Cum ego  
 modern-ones, the Marii, the Didi, and the Cælii. When I  
 vero, tanto intervallo, refregissem  
 indeed, so-great an interval (of time having elapsed), had-broken  
 ista claustra nobilitatis, ut aditus ad consulatum  
 these barriers of-nobility, so-that access to the consulship  
 posthac, non pateret magis nobilitati, quàm  
 hereafter, 'might not 'be-open more to-nobility, than  
 virtuti, sicut fuit apud nostros majores:  
 to-virtue (and merit), as it-was with our ancestors: 'I-did  
 non arbitrabar, cum consul designatus, ex vetere et  
 not 'think, when the consul elect, of an old and  
 illustri familiâ, defenderetur filio Romani  
 illustrious family, was-defended by-the son of-a-Roman  
 equitis, consule, accusatores dicturos esse  
 knight, (he being) consul, (that) the accusers would-say-any thing  
 de novitate generis. Etenim accidit mihi  
 concerning newness of family. For it-happened to-me  
 ipsi, ut peterem, cum duobus patriciis,  
 myself, that I-sought-for (the consulship), with two patricians  
 altero improbissimo atque audacissimo,  
 (against me), the one a most-worthless and most-audacious (man),  
 altero modestissimo, atque optimo viro: tamen,  
 the other a most-modest, and most-excellent man: however,  
 superavi Catilinam dignitate, Galbam gratiâ.  
 I-overcame Catiline in-dignity, (and) Galba in-favour.  
 Quod si id deberet esse crimen novo  
 Because if this ought to-have-been (alleged as) a crime to-a-new  
 homini, profecto neque inimici, neque invidi  
 man, certainly neither enemies, nor envious-persons  
 defuissent mihi. Omittamus  
 would-have-been-wanting to-me (on the occasion). Let-us-omit  
 igitur dicere de genere, dignitas  
 therefore saying (any thing) concerning birth, the dignity

cujus est magna in utroque: videamus  
 of-which is great in each (candidate, : let-us-look  
 cetera.  
 to-the-rest.

“Petit quæsturam unâ, et ego  
 ‘He (Murena) ‘sought the quæstorship together (with me), and I  
 factus sum prior.” Est non  
 was-made the first” (in order, says Sulpicius). It-is not (necessary)

respondendum ad omnia. • Enim neque fugit  
 to-reply to every-thing. For neither does-it-escape

quemquam vestrûm, cum multi pares  
 (the observation of) any-one of-you, when many equal

dignitate fiant, autem unus solus possit  
 in-dignity are-designated (for office), but one alone can

obtinere primum; ordinem dignitatis et  
 obtain the first (place); (for that) the order of-dignity and

renuntiationis esse non eundem; propterea quod  
 of-announcement is not the same; because that

renuntiatio habeat gradus, autem  
 the announcement (of the election) may-have degrees, but

dignitas sit persæpe eadem omnium.  
 the dignity may be (considered) very-often (as) the same (for) all.

Sed quæstura utriusque fuit propemodum  
 But the quæstorship of-each (of you) was nearly (of)

pari momento sortis. Hic habuit,  
 equal importance (as assigned by) lot. This-one [Murena] had,

Titîâ lege, tacitam et quietam provinciam:  
 by-the-Titian law, a still and quiet province:

tu illam Ostiensem, cui, cum  
 you [Sulpicius] had that Ostian (province), at-which, when

quæstore sortiantur, solet etiam  
 the quæstors draw-lots, it-is-customary also (for the by-standers)

acclamari; non tam gratiosam et  
 to-shout-out (in derision); (a province) not so pleasant and

illustrem, quàm negotiosam et molestam. Nomen  
 illustrious, as full-of-care and troublesome. The name

utriusque consedit in  
 of-each (of you) settled-down in (your)

quæsturâ. Enim sors dedit  
 quæstorship, (and was not heard out of it). For chance gave  
 vobis nullum campum, in quo virtus posset  
 you (both) no field, in which (your) virtue might  
 excurrere que cognosci. Spatium temporis  
 come-forth and (make itself) be-known. The space of-time  
 reliqui, vocatur in  
 remaining, (after the quæstorship was passed), is called into  
 contentionem. Tractatum est dissimillimâ ratione  
 contest. . It-was-managed in-a-very-different manner  
 ab utroque.  
 by each.

9. Servius secutus est, hîc cum nobis, hanc  
 Servius followed, here with us, this  
 urbanam militiam respondendi, scribendi,  
 city warfare of-answering (legal questions), of-writing,  
 cavendi, plenam sollicitudinis ac  
 of-giving-legal-caution-and-advice, full of-solicitude and  
 stomachi; didicit civile jus: vigilavit multum;  
 chagrin; he-studied the civil law: he-watched much;  
 laboravit; fuit præsto multis;  
 he-laboured; he-was present for-many; [he was to be seen by all;]  
 perpressus est stultitiam multorum; pertulit  
 he-suffered-much (from) the folly of-many; he-bore (with)  
 arrogantiam; exorbuit difficultatem: vixit ad  
 arrogance; he-overcame difficulties: he-lived at  
 arbitrium aliorum, non ad suum. Magna  
 the will of-others, not at his-own. (There is) great  
 laus, et grata hominibus, unum hominem  
 praise, and (a thing) pleasing to-men, (that) one man  
 elaborare, in eâ scientiâ, quæ sit profutura  
 should-labour, in that science, which may-be advantageous  
 multis. Quid Murena interea? Fuit  
 to-many. What (was) Murena (doing) in-the-mean-time? He-was  
 legatus L. Lucullo, fortissimo et sapientissimo  
 a lieutenant to L. Lucullus, a most-brave and most-wise  
 viro, summo imperatori; in quâ legatione  
 man, (and) great commander; in which lieutenantancy

duxit exercitum; contulit signa;  
 he-commanded an army; he-brought-together the standards; [he  
 conseruit manum;  
 engaged in battle;] he-joined hand; [he fought hand to hand,]  
 fudit magnas copias hostium; cepit urbes  
 he-routed great forces of-the-enemy; he-took (several) towns  
 partim vi, partim obsidione; sic obiit istam  
 partly by-force, partly by-besieging; 'he so 'traversed this  
 Asiam refertam, et eandem delicatam,  
 Asia filled (with luxuries), and that-same (so) voluptuous,  
 ut reliquerit in eâ, neque vestigium avaritiæ, neque  
 that he-left in it, neither a trace of-avarice, nor  
 luxuriæ; in maximo bello sic versatus est, ut  
 of-luxury; in a-very-great war 'he-was so 'employed, that  
 hic gesserit multas et magnas res, sine  
 he performed many and great exploits, without  
 imperatore, imperator nullam sine  
 the commander, (but) the commander (performed) none without  
 hoc. Atque loquar hæc, quanquam L. Lucullo  
 him. And (as) I-mention these-things, notwithstanding L. Lucullus  
 præsentem, tamen, ne videamur, propter  
 being present, yet, (that) 'we-may not 'seem, on-account-of  
 nostrum periculum, habere licentiam fingendi  
 our danger, to-have a license of fiction  
 concessam ab ipso, omnia sunt testata publicis  
 granted (to us) by himself, all are verified by-the-public  
 literis; quibus L. Lucullus impertit  
 despatches (of that commander); in-which L. Lucullus imparts  
 tantum laudis, quantum neque ambitiosus, neque  
 so-much of-praise, as neither an ambitious, nor  
 invidus imperator debuit tribuere alteri in  
 envious commander ought to-have-granted to-another in  
 communicandâ gloriâ. Est summa honestas,  
 participating (his) glory. There-is the greatest honesty,  
 summa dignitas in utroque; quam ego si  
 the greatest dignity in each-one (of you); which I if  
 liceat mihi per Servium, ponam in pari atque  
 it-is-allowed to-me by Servius, will-place in the-like and



eâdem laude. Sed non licet. Agitat  
in-the-same (degree of) praise. But 'it-is not allowed. He-agitates

militarem rem; insectatur totam hanc legationem;  
military affairs; he-attacks all this lieutenancy

putat consulatum esse  
(of Murena); he-thinks, (that) the consulship is (an office requiring)

assiduitatis, et harum quotidianarum operarum.  
industry, and these daily labours.

Inquit, "mihi fueris tot annos apud exercitum?  
He-says, "were-you not so-many years with the army?

non attigeris forum? tamdiu  
did-you ever 'set-foot (in) the forum? 'were-you (not) so-long

abfueris? et cum venris, longo intervallo,  
absent? and when you-return, (after) a long space-of-time,

contendas cum iis, qui habitaverunt in  
will-you-contend with those, who (may be said to) dwell in

foro, de dignitate?" Primum  
the-forum, about dignity (and merit)?" First (as respects)

ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis quantum  
this our assiduity, O Servius, you-know-not how-much

fastidii interdum afferat hominibus, quantum  
disgust 'it sometimes 'occasions men, and-how-much

satietatis. Expediit mihi quidem  
satiety. It disembarassed (and helped) me indeed

vehementer, gratiam esse  
exceedingly, (that) the favour (I had won by my conduct) was

positam in oculis. Sed tamen  
placed before the eyes (of my countrymen). But however

superavi satietatem mei  
I-overcame the satiety of-myself, (occasioned by my frequent appear

meo magno labore, et tu fortasse  
ance), by-my great labour (and exertions), and you perhaps

idem: verum tamen desiderium  
(have done) the-same-thing: but however the desire

obfuisset nihil  
(of hearing us, occasioned by absence), 'might-have-been no 'injury

utriusque nostrum. Sed, hoc omisso, ut,  
so-either of-us. But, this being-passed over, that,

revertamur ad contentionem studiorum  
we-may-return to the contest (and comparison) 'of (our) 'studies

atque artium; quî potest  
(and habits), and 'of (our) professions; to-whom can 'there-be (any)

dubitari, quin ad adipiscendum consulatum, gloria  
'doubt, but-that for obtaining the consulship, the renown

militaris rei afferat multo plus  
of military exploits may-bring much more (of claim thereto, as re-

dignitatis, quàm civilis juris?  
spects) dignity (and merit), than (that) of-the-civil law?

Tu vigilas de nocte, ut respondeas  
You watch at night, that you-may-give-answers (and advice)

tuis consultoribus: ille, ut perveniat  
to-your clients: he (does the same), that he-may-arrive

maturè cum exercitu, eo, quò  
early, with his army, in that place, whither

intendit. gallorum exsuscitat te,  
he-is-directing-his-march. (The crowing) of-the-cocks awakes you,

cantus buccinarum illum. Tu instituis  
the sound of-the-trumpets (awakes) him. You arrange (the manner

actionem, ille instruit  
of conducting) a case (in law), he draws-up (an army in)

aciem; tu caves, ne tui consultores  
order-of-battle; you take-care, lest your clients

capiantur, ille ne urbes aut castra.  
be-taken (unawares), he, lest the towns or the camps (may be

Ille tenet et scit, ut copiae hostium  
taken). He understands and knows, how the forces of-the-enemy

arceantur tu, ut aquae pluviae;  
may-be-kept-back (from doing harm), you, how the rains

ille exercitatur  
(and inundations, may be kept back, from doing harm); he is occupied

in propagandis finibus; tu in regendis:  
in extending the boundaries (of the empire); you in regulating

ac nimirum (enim quod  
(the boundaries of private estates): and assuredly (for what

sentio, dicendum est), virtus militaris rei  
 I-think, must-be-said), the excellence of-military art  
 præstat omnibus ceteris.  
 surpasses (that of) all others.

10. Hæc peperit nomen  
 (It is) this (military skill, that) has-produced a name  
 Romano populo, hæc æternam gloriam  
 for-the-Roman people, this (has produced) eternal glory  
 huic urbi; hæc coëgit orbem terrarum parere  
 for-this city; this-same has-forced the whole world to-obey  
 huic imperio: omnes urbanæ res, omnia hæc nostra  
 this empire: all city affairs, all these our  
 præclara studia, et hæc forensis laus  
 noble studies (and pursuits), and this forensic reputation  
 et industria latent, in tutelâ et præsidio  
 and industry lie-sheltered, under the defence and protection  
 bellicæ virtutis. Atque simul suspicio tumultûs  
 of warlike virtue. And as-soon-as a suspicion of-a-tumult  
 increpuit, illico nostræ artes  
 is reported, immediately our arts (of eloquence and pleading)  
 conticescunt.  
 become silent.

Et quoniam videris mihi osculari istam  
 And because you-seem to-me to-kiss (and fondle) this  
 scientiam juris, tanquam tuam filiolum,  
 science of-the-law, as-if (it were) your little-daughter,  
 non patiar te versari in tanto errore, ut  
 'I-will not 'suffer you to-be under so-great an error, that  
 arbitrare istud, nescio quid, quod didicisti  
 you-should-think this, I-know (not) what, which you-have-learned  
 tanto opere, esse aliquid præclarum. Ego semper  
 with-so-much labour, to-be something eminent. I always  
 judicavi te dignissimum consulatu, et omni  
 'udged you most-worthy of-the-consulship, and of-every  
 honore, aliis virtutibus, continentîâ, gravitate,  
 honour, by-other virtues, 'by (your) 'moderation, gravity,  
 justitiâ, fide, omnibus ceteris  
 'justice, good-faith, (and) by-all (your) other (virtues). 'I-will

Non quidem dicam, quod didicisti civile jus,  
 not indeed 'say, (that) because you-have-learned the civil law.  
 perdidisti operam; sed dicam illud,  
 you-have-lost (your) labour; but I-will-say this, (that)  
 esse, in illâ disciplinâ, nullam  
 there is, in that knowledge (of the civil law), no  
 munitam viam ad consulatum. Enim omnes artes,  
 sure way to the consulship. For all the arts,  
 quæ conciliant studia Romani populi nobis,  
 which conciliate the good-will of-the-Roman people to-us,  
 debent habere, et admirabilem dignitatem, et  
 ought to-have, both an admirable dignity, and  
 pergratum utilitatem.  
 very-agreeable usefulness.

11. Summa dignitas est, in iis, qui  
 The highest dignity (and esteem) is, in those, who  
 antecellunt militari laude; enim omnia quæ sunt  
 excel in-military renown; for all-things which are  
 in imperio, et in statu  
 in the empire, (or connected with it), and in the state (and condition)  
 civitatis, putantur defendi et firmari ab  
 of-the-government, are-considered to-be-defended and strengthened by  
 iis; etiam summa utilitas; siquidem  
 them; (there is) also the greatest usefulness (in them); since  
 eorum consilio, et periculo possumus  
 'by-their 'counsel, and the dangers (they incur), we-can  
 perfrui, cum republica, tum etiam nostris  
 enjoy, as-well the republic, as also our (private)  
 rebus. Etiam illa facultas dicendi est gravis, et  
 property. Also that talent of-speaking is important, and  
 plena dignitatis, quæ sæpe valuit in deligendo  
 full of-dignity, which often has-availed (much) in electing  
 consule, posse permovere consilio atque oratione,  
 a consul, to-be-able to-move by counsel and oratory,  
 mentes, et senatûs, et populi, et eorum, qui  
 the minds, both of-the-senate, and of-the-people, and of-those, who  
 judicant res. Consul quæritur, qui,  
 judge (and decide) affairs. A consul is-required, who, (by his eloquence;



dicendo, nonnunquam comprimat tribunicios  
in-speaking, 'may sometimes 'repress tribunician

furores, qui flectat concitatum populum, qui resistat  
excesses, who may-sway the excited people, who resists,

largitioni.

Non  
(and opposes himself against) bribery-and-corruption. (It is) not

mirum, si ob hanc facultatem homines,  
strange, if on-account-of this talent, (that) men, (who were)

non nobiles, sæpe consecuti sunt consulatum :  
not noble, often have-obtained the consulship :

præsertim cum hæc eadem res pariat plurimas  
especially when this same thing procures many

gratias, firmissimas amicitias, maxima  
favours, (and great influence), the firmest friendships, the greatest

studia, Quorum, Sulpici, est  
zeal, (and good feeling towards us). Of-which, O Sulpicius, there-is

nihil, in isto vestro artificio. Primum, quæ  
nothing, in this your profession. In-the-first-place, what

dignitas potest esse in tam tenui scientiâ? Enim  
dignity can-there-be in so slender a science? For

sunt parvæ res, prope occupatæ in singulis  
they-are small affairs, nearly taken-up with single

litteris, atque interpunctionibus verborum.  
letters, and the punctuation of-words.

Deinde, etiam si, apud nostros majores, fuit  
In-the-next-place, even if, among our ancestors, there-was

quid admirationis in isto studio, id, vestris  
any-thing of-admiration in this study (of yours), it, your

mysteriis enuntiatis, est totum contemptum et  
mysteries being-revealed, is altogether despised and

abjectum. Pauci quondam sciebant, posset  
degraded. Few formerly knew, (whether) it-might

agi lege, necne. Enim  
be-done by-law, or-not. [Whether they might go to law, or not.] For

vulgò habebant non fastos. Qui  
generally (the people) had no calender. (Those) who

consulebantur erant in magnâ potentiâ: a quibus  
were-consulted were in great power: from whom

etiam dies petebantur, tanquam a  
also days (of consultation) were requested, as by

Chaldæis. Quidam scriba inventus est,  
the Chaldæan-astrologers. A certain scribe (or writer) was-found,

Cn. Flavius, qui confixerit oculos cornicum,  
Cn. Flavius (by name), who might-have-pierced the eyes of crows,

et proposuerit  
[who could deceive the cunning ones,] and (who) exposed

populo fastos ediscendos singulis diebus, et  
to the people a calender to-be-learned for-each day, and

compilarit, ab cautis jureconsultis ipsis,  
(thus) pilfered, from the subtle lawyers themselves,

eorum sapientiam. Itaque illi irati,  
their-own science. Therefore they [the lawyers] enraged,

quòd veriti sunt, ne, ratione dierum  
because they were afraid lest, the order of-the-days (for going to law),

pervulgatâ et cognitâ, posset agi lege,  
being-published and known, (that people) might go to-law,

sine suâ operâ, composuerunt quasdam  
without their assistance, they composed (and invented) certain

notas, ut ipsi interessent in  
(legal) forms, that they 'might (necessarily) 'be-present in

omnibus rebus.  
all affairs.

12. Cum hoc posset fieri bellissime.  
When this may have-been-done very-well,

"Sabinus fundus est meus;" "immo  
(as thus): "The Sabine farm is mine;" "indeed (it is)

meus;" deinde iudicium:  
mine;" (rejoins the opponent); then judgment (is given): (the

noluerunt. Inquit  
lawyers) would not (agree to this mode of procedure). Says-one,

"fundus, qui est in agro, qui vocatur Sabinus."  
"the farm, which is in the country, which is-called the Sabine."

Verbose satis. Cedo, quid postea; Ego aio eum  
Verbosely enough. Well, what next; I say that (farm)

esse meum, ex jure Quiritium." Quid tum?  
is mine, according to the-law of-the-Romans." What then?

"Ego voco te ex jure, inde ibi manu  
 "I call you out-of-court, from that-place-there, to-contend  
 consortum." Ille, unde petebatur,  
 with-me." He, when it-was-demanded, [the defendant]

habebat non, quid responderet huic, tam  
 had not, what (wherewith) he-might-reply to-this-one, so  
 loquaciter litigioso. Idem jureconsultus transit  
 verbosely litigious. The-same lawyer (now) crosses-over,

modo Latini tibicinis; inquit:  
 in-the-manner of-a-Latin flute-player; and-says: (from-that-place-there),

"unde tu vocasti me ex jure manu consortum,  
 "whence you called me out of court, to contend with (me),  
 inde ibi ego revoco te." Interea, ne  
 from thence I (now) call you." In-the-mean-time, lest

Prætor putaret se pulchrum ac  
 the Prætor should-think himself (to be) an excellent and  
 beatum, atque  
 lucky (person), [should have too good an opinion of himself], and

ipse loqueretur aliquid suâ sponte,  
 should himself 'say something of-his-own accord,  
 carmen compositum est ei quoque, cum  
 a set-form-of-words is-composed for-him also, when

absurdum ceteris rebus, tum vero in illo.  
 absurd in-other things, so indeed in this.

"Utrisque, suis superstitibus, dico, istam  
 "To-each, their witnesses-being-present, I-say, (that) this  
 viam, inite viam," ille sapiens  
 (is) the way, proceed on-the-way," that wise (lawyer)

aderat præsto, qui doceret inire  
 was-present at-hand, who might-show (how) to-proceed  
 viam. "Redite viam." Redibant eodem  
 on-the-way. "Return on-the-road." They-retuned with-the-same

duce. Credo hæc, tum jam videbantur  
 leader. I-believe (that) these-things, even then, appeared

ridicula apud illos barbato: homines,  
 ridiculous, among those bearded (personages): (th.) men,

cum constitissent rectè, atque in  
 when they-had-placed (themselves) properly, and in

loco, juberet abire; ut statim  
a place, should-be-ordered to-go-away; that they might immediately

redirent eodem, unde abissent.  
return to-the-same-place, whence they-had-gone.

Omnia illa fucata sunt iisdem ineptiis.  
All these (legal forms) are-tainted with-these-same follies.

"Quando conspicio te in jure," et hæc:  
"When I-behold you in law," and these.

"Aune tu dicis vindicaveris  
"Or- 'do you 'say (this for appearance) or have you sustained

causa?" quæ dum occulta erant, qui  
the cause?" which while they-were-kept-secret; (those) who

tenebant ea necessariò petebantur  
held those (secrets) were necessarily sought-for,

ab cis: vero postea pervulgata,  
by those, (having law suits): but afterwards having-been-divulged,

atque jactata in manibus et  
and thrown (about) in hands, [and well handled] and

excussa, reperta sunt inanissima prudentiæ,  
examined, they-were-found (to be) most-devoid of-sense

autem plenissima fraudis et stultitiæ. Nam cum  
but very-full of-fraud and folly. For when

permulta præclarè constituta essent  
very-many things 'were admirably 'established

legibus, ea pleraque corrupta sunt ac  
by-the-laws, 'they-were mostly 'corrupted and

depravata ingeniis jureconsultorum. Omnes  
depraved by-the-ingenuity of-the-lawyers. All

mulieres, propter infirmitatem consilii,  
women, on-account-of the weakness 'of (their) 'judgment,

majores voluerunt esse potestate tutorum:  
(our) ancestors resolved should-be in-the-power of-guardians:

hi invenerunt genera tutorum, quæ  
these (lawyers) found-out classes of-guardians, which (classes)

continerentur potestate mulierum. Illi  
might-be-contained (or held) in-the-power of-the-women. They

noluerunt sacra interire:  
(our ancestors) did-not-wish the sacred-family-rites to-die-out



ingenio horum senes  
by-the-ingenuity of-these (lawyers) old-men, (who had no children,)

reperiti sunt ad faciendas coëmptiones,  
were-found for making (fictitious) purchases (of the

causâ interimendorum sacrorum.  
family estates), for-the-purpose of destroying the-sacred-rites,

Denique, in omni civili jure  
(entailed on such estates). In-fine, in all the civil law

reliquerunt æquitatem,  
they [the lawyers] abandoned equity, (and the spirit of the

tenuerunt verba ipsa: ut,  
laws), (and only) held-on, (literally to) the words themselves: as

quia in libris alicujus, invenerant  
(for instance), because in the books of-some-lawyer, they-had-found

id nomen, causâ exempli, putarunt  
that name (Caia), by-reason (of giving an) example, they-thought

omnes mulieres, quæ facerent  
(that) all women, who might-contract (matrimony by the

coëmptionem, vocari Caias. Jam quidem  
ceremony of) co-emption, were called Caia. Yet indeed

illud solet videri mihi mirum, tot tam  
that used to-seem to-me strange, (that) so-many (and) so

ingeniosos, per tot annos etiam nunc  
ingenious-persons, through so-many years, (and) even now

potuisse non statuere, utrum oporteret dici  
would not determine, whether it-might-best be-said

tertium diem, an perendinum: judicem, an  
the third day, or the-day-after-to-morrow: judge, or

arbitrum; rem, an litem.  
arbiter; the action, or the suit.

13. Itaque (ut dixi) nunquam fuit  
Therefore (as I-have-said), there never was (any)

consularis dignitas in ista scientiâ; quæ tota  
consular dignity, in this science; which altogether

constaret ex fictis que commenticiis rebus;  
consists of fictitious and imaginary things; (and

vero multò minores gratiæ. Enim  
certainly much fewer favours (can be obtained by it). For

quod patet omnibus, et est æque promptum  
that-which is-open to-all, and is equally free

mihi et meo adversario, id potest nullo pacto  
to-me and to-my adversary, it can in-no manner,

esse gratum. Itaque jam  
(be considered) to-be a favour. Therefore 'you-have now

perdidistis non modò spem collocandi beneficii,  
'lost not only the hope of-conferring a benefit,

sed etiam illud quod aliquandiu  
but also that (consideration) which 'you for-a-certain-time

fuit "licet consulere."  
'had, (of being respectfully asked) "is-it-allowed-(me) to consult (you)."

Nemo potest existimari sapiens in  
No one can be-considered wise, (who is only skilled) in

eâ prudentiâ, quæ neque valet quidquam extra  
that knowledge, which neither is-worth any-thing without

Romam usquam, neque Romæ, rebus pro-  
Rome any-where, nor in Rome, during-the-vacation-of-

latis. Nemo potest ideo haberi peritus,  
the-courts. No-one can therefore be-considered skilled,

quod in eo, quod omnes  
(above other, in the civil law), because in that which all

sciunt, possunt nullo modò discrepare  
know (equally well), they-can in no wise differ

inter se. Autem res non ideo putatur  
among themselves. But a thing 'is not therefore 'thought

difficilis, quod continetur, et per paucis et  
difficult, because it-is-contained, both in a few and

minime obscuris 'lteris. Itaque si moveritis  
by-no-means obscure writings. Therefore if you-excite

mihi, homini vehementer occupato, stomachum,  
me, a man excessively occupied, (to) anger,

triduo profitebor me esse jureconsultum.  
in-three-days I-will-profess myself to-be a lawyer.

Etenim, quæ aguntur de scripto,  
For (those things) which are transacted by writing,

sunt omnia scripta; neque est tamen  
have all (their) written forms; nor is there indeed

quidquam scriptum tam anguste, quo ego  
 any-thing, written so abbreviatedly, that I  
 possim non addere, "de qua re agitur;"  
 can not add, "about what thing is-it-the-question;"

autem quæ consuluntur respondentur  
 but those-things (about which) advice-is-asked, are-answered

minimo periculo. Si responderis id, quod  
 with-very-little risk. If you-answer that, which

oportet; videare respondisse idem, quod  
 is-right; you-may-seem to-have-answered the same, that

Servius; sin aliter; videare etiam  
 Servius (would); but-if otherwise; you-may-seem also

nosse et tractare controversum jus. Quapropter  
 to-know, and (how) to-handle the controversial law. Wherefore

non solum est illa militaris gloria anteponenda  
 not only is that military renown to-be-preferred

vestris formulis atque actionibus, verum etiam  
 to-your (legal) forms and actions, but also

consuetudo dicendi longe et multum antecellit  
 the habit of speaking, far and much excels

isti vestræ exercitationi, ad  
 this your practice (of the law), for (obtaining)

honorem. Itaque plerique videntur mihi,  
 the honour (of office). Therefore many seem to me,

initio multò maluisse  
 in-the-commencement (of their public life) 'to-have much 'preferred

hoc: post, cum potuissent non  
 this (practice of eloquence): afterwards, when they-could not

assequi id, potissimum delapsi sunt  
 succeed-in it, 'they-have mostly 'fallen-back

istuc. Ut aiunt  
 there-where-you-are, (to the practice of the law). As they say

in Græcis artificibus, eos esse aulodos,  
 respecting Greek musicians, (that) those are flute-players

qui potuerint non fieri citharoedi: sic  
 who could not become players-on-the-harp: thus

videmus nonnullos, qui potuerunt non evadere  
 we-see some, who could not become

oratores, eos devenire ad studium juris.  
 orators, (that) they betake-themselves to the study of-the-law

Magnus labor dicendi.  
 Great (is) the labour, (in acquiring eminence, in public) speaking,

magna res, magna dignitas, autem  
 great (is) the thing (itself), great (its) dignity, but

summa gratia. Etenim  
 great (is) the favour, (and influence connected with it). For

a vobis quædam salubritas  
 from you (lawyers) a certain (degree of) health [safety]

petitur, ab iis, qui dicunt, salus  
 is sought, (but) from those, who plead [from the orators] safety

ipsa. Deinde vestra responsa atque  
 itself (is sought). Next your answers and

decreta et sæpe evertuntur dicendo, et sine  
 decisions are, both often overturned by-eloquence, and without

defensione oratoris possunt non esse  
 the defence of-the-orators they-could not be (established on a)

firma; in qua, si satis  
 firm (basis); in which (art of oratory), if 'I-had-made sufficient

proecissem dicerem parcius de ejus  
 'progress (myself) I-might-have-spoken more-sparingly of its

laude: nunc dico nihil de me, sed de iis, qui  
 praise: now I-say nothing of myself, but of those, who

sunt, aut fuerunt magni dicendo.  
 are, or were great in-speaking.

14. Sunt duæ artes, quæ possunt locare homines

There are two professions, which can place men

in amplissimo gradu dignitatis; una  
 in the-most-exalted degree of-dignity (and consideration); the one

imperatoris altera boni oratoris. Enim  
 (that) of-a-commander, the other (that) of-a-good orator. For

ab hoc ornamenta pacis retinentur; ab illo  
 by this (last), the ornaments of-peace are-preserved; by the former,

pericula belli repelluntur. Tamen ceteræ virtutes  
 the dangers of-war are-repelled. However other virtues

ipsæ valent multum per se, justitia,  
 (and merits) themselves avail much of themselves, as justice,



fides, pudor, temperantia; quibus, omnes  
 good-faith, modesty, temperance; in which, all

intelligent te, Servi, excellere: sed nunc  
 know, (that) you, O Servius, excel: but now

disputo de studiis dispositis  
 I-am-arguing of (those) pursuits disposed, (and calculated)

ad honorem, non de insitâ virtute  
 for (obtaining) the honour (of office), not of the innate virtue

cujusque. Omnia ista studia nobis excutuntur  
 of-each-one. All these pursuits for-us are-dashed

de manibus, simul atque aliquis novus motus  
 from (our) hands, as-soon as any new movement

cœpit canere bellicum. Etenim,  
 (or commotion) begins to-sound the warlike (signal). For,

ut ingeniosus poëta, et valde bonus auctor ait,  
 as an-ingenuous poet, and very excellent writer says,

proeliis promulgatis, "pellitur e medio," non  
 battles being-announced, "there-is-driven from among-us," not

solum ista vestra verbosa simulatio prudentiæ, sed  
 only this your verbose imitation of-prudence, but

etiam illa domina ipsa rerum, "sapientia; res  
 also that mistress herself 'of (all) 'things, "wisdom; every thing

geritur vi; orator spernitur," non solum  
 is-done by-violence; the orator is-despised," not only

odiosus in dicendo, ac loquax, verum  
 the disagreeable-one in speaking, and the wordy-one, but-indeed

etiam "bonus; horridus miles amatur;" vero  
 also "the good-one; the rough soldier is-beloved;" indeed

totum vestrum studium jacet. Inquit,  
 all your pursuits lie-neglected. He says, (men)

"repetunt rem, non ex jure manu conertum,  
 "redress (their) affairs, not by a process of law,

sed mage ferro." Quod si est ita, Sulpici,  
 but rather by-the-sword." Which if it-is so, O Sulpicius,

forum cedat castris, otium militiæ, stilus  
 the forum must-yield to-the-camp, tranquillity to-war, the pen

gladio, umbra soli; denique,  
 so-the-sword, the shady (retreat to exposure) to-the-sun; in-fine,

ea res sit prima in civitate, propter quam civitas  
that thing is the first in a state, through which the state  
ipsa est princeps omnium. Verum Cato

itself is the chief of-all (states). But Cato (endeavours to;

demonstrat nos facere nimium magna  
show, (that) we make too great (an affair of this;

nostris verbis; et oblitos esse, omne  
by-our discourse; and, (that we) have-forgotten, (that) all

illud Mithridaticum bellum gestum esse  
that Mithridatic war was-waged, (as it were)

cum mulierculis. Quod ego existimo, iudices,  
with women. Which I believe (to be), O judges,

longe secus: que de eo disseram pauca;  
far otherwise: and about this I-will-say something; (and but

enim neque causa continetur  
little), for neither 'is (my) cause (properly) 'contained

in hoc.

in this.

Nam, si omnia bella, quæ gerimus, cum  
For, if all the wars, which we-have-carried on with

Græcis, contemnenda sunt, triumphus  
the Greeks, are-to-be despised, (then) 'let the triumph

M. Curii de rege Pyrrho derideatur; F. Flaminini  
of M. Curii over king Pyrrhus 'be derided; (that) of F. Flamininus

de Philippo; M. Fulvii de Ætolis;  
over Philip; (that) of M. Fulvius over the Ætolians; (that)

L. Paulli de rege Perse; Q. Metelli de  
of L. Paullus over king Perses; (that) of Q. Metelli over

Pseudophilippo; L. Mummii de Corinthis;  
the false Philip; (that) of L. Mummius over the Corinthians;

sin hæc bella fuerunt gravissima, que victoriae  
but-if these wars were very-important, and the victories

eorum bellorum gratissimæ; cur Asiaticæ  
of-these wars (were) most-acceptable (to us); why 'are the Asiatic

nationes, atque ille hostis contemnitur a  
nations, and that enemy (Mithridates) 'despised by

te? Atqui video ex monumentis veterum rerum  
you? But I-see, from the records of-ancient transactions

Romanum populum gessisse, vel maximum  
 (that) the Roman people carried-on, indeed a-very-grea.  
 bellum cum Antiocho; L. Scipio victor ejus belli  
 war with Antiochus; L. Scipio the conqueror, in this war,

partita gloria cum Publico fratre, ille,  
 shared the glory (thereof) with Publicus (his) brother, he,

Africâ oppressâ, ferebat præ se,  
 (Publicus Scipio), Africa being-conquered, bore before himself,

quam laudem, cognomine ipso, hic  
 this renown, by-the-surname itself (of Africanus), this (L. Scipio)

assumpsit eandem sibi ex nomine Asiae.  
 assumed the-same (renown) to-himself from the name of-Asia.

In quo bello quidem, egregia virtus M. Catonis  
 In which war indeed, the rare virtue of M. Cato,

tui proavi enituit; quò ille, cum æset,  
 your great-grandfather shone-forth; and-as he, when he-might-be,

ut ego statuo mihi, talis, qualem video te esse,  
 as I set-it-down to myself, the same, as I-see you to-be,

nunquam profectus esset, si  
 'would never 'have-gone (to that war), if

arbitraretur bellandum esse cum mulierculis. Neque  
 he thought it-was-to-fight with women. Neither

vero, cum senatus egisset P. Africano, ut  
 indeed, when the senate had-arranged-with P. Africanus, that

proficisceretur legatus fratri; cum ipse, paullo  
 he-would-go (as) lieutenant 'to (his) 'brother; when he, a little

ante, Hanibale expulso ex Italiâ, ejecto ex  
 before, Hannibal being-driven from Italy, ejected from

Africâ, Carthagine oppressâ, liberasset rempublicam  
 Africa, (and) Carthage conquered, had delivered the republic

maximis periculis, nisi putaretur illud  
 from-the-greatest dangers, unless it-was-thought (that) that

bellum grave et vehemens.  
 war (was) a serious and violent-one.

15. Atqui si consideraris diligenter, quid  
 But if you-consider carefully, what

Mithridates potuerit, et quid effecerit, et  
 Mithridates might-have-done, and what he-accomplished, and

**qui** vir fuerit, nimirum antepones hunc  
 what (kind of) a man he-was, 'you-will assuredly 'prefer this  
**regem,** omnibus regibus, cum quibus Romanus  
 king, to-all the kings, with whom the Roman  
**populus** gessit bellum; quem, L. Sulla, non rudis  
 people have-waged war; whom, L. Sulla, no rude  
 imperator, ut dicam nihil aliud,  
 (or inexperienced) commander, that I-may-say nothing else,  
 maximo et fortissimo exercitu, excitatum  
 with-a-very-large and very-powerful army, having-excited-him  
 pugnâ, invectum bello in totam  
 (by a lost) battle, and) having-attacked (him) by-war in all  
**Asiam,** dimisit cum pace; quem L. Murena,  
 Asia, left (him) in peace; whom L. Murena,  
 pater hujusce vehementissime que  
 the father of this (Murena) 'having most-violently and  
 vigilantissime vexatum, reliquit, ex magnâ parte  
 vigilantly 'harassed, left, for the great part  
 repressum, non oppressum; qui rex sumptis aliquot  
 checked, (but) not reduced; this king, having-taken some  
 annis sibi, ad confirmandas rationes et copias,  
 years to-himself, to strengthen (his) affairs and forces,  
 ipse tantum invaluit, opibus que  
 he so re-established (himself), 'by (his) 'resources and  
 conatu, ut putaret se conjuncturum Oceanum  
 efforts, that he-thought, (that) he might-unite the Ocean  
 cum Ponto, copias Sertorii cum suis.  
 with the Black Sea, the forces of-Sertorius (in Spain) with his-own.  
 Ad quod bellum, duobus consulibus missis,  
 To which war, two consuls being-sent,  
 ita, ut alter persequeretur  
 In-this-manner, that, (while) the one pursued  
 Mithridatem, alter tueretur Bithyniam;  
 Mithridates, the other should-defend Bithynia;  
 calamitosæ res alterius, et terrâ et mari,  
 the calamitous affairs of-one-of-them, both by-land and sea,  
 vehementer auxerunt et opes et nomen regis:  
 greatly increased both the means and renown of-the-king:



vero tantæ exstiterunt res L. Luculli, ut neque  
 but so-great were the exploits of-L. Lucullus, that neither  
 majus bellum possit commemorari, neque gestum  
 a greater war can be-mentioned, nor one-waged  
 majore consilio et virtute. Nam cum impetus  
 with-more (wise) counsel and valour. For when the force  
 totius belli constitisset ad mœnia Cyzicenorum,  
 of-all the war had-centered against the walls of-the-Cyziceniars,  
 que Mithridates putasset, eam urbem fore  
 and Mithridates had-thought, (that) that town would-be  
 sibi januam Asiæ, qua effractâ et revulsâ, tota  
 for-him the door of-Asia, which broken-down and destroyed, all  
 provincia pateret, omnia  
 the (Roman) province (of Asia) would-be-open (to him), all  
 hæc perfecta sunt ab Lucullo ut urbs  
 these-things were-(so)-accomplished by-Lucullus that the town  
 fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, et omnes  
 of-the-most-faithful allies was-defended, and all  
 copiæ regis consumerentur diuturnitate  
 the forces of-the-king were-consumed by-the-long-duration  
 obsessionis. Quid? arbitraris, illam navalem  
 of-the-siege. What? do-you-think, (that) that naval  
 pugnam ad Tenedum, commissam mediocri certamine,  
 battle at Tenedos, was-fought with-a-slight contest,  
 et parvâ dimicatione, cum classis hostium, inflata  
 and small combat, when the fleet of-the-enemy, inflated  
 spe atque animis, peteret Italiam contento  
 with-hope and courage, sought Italy with-a-strained  
 cursu, acerrimis ducibus?  
 (and rapid) course, (and) with-most-ardent (and active) leaders?  
 Mitto prœlia; prætereo oppugnationes oppidorum.  
 I omit the battles; I-pass-over the storming of-towns  
 Aliquando tandem, expulsus regno, tamen  
 When in-fine, expelled <sup>1</sup>from (his) <sup>1</sup>kingdom, yet  
 tantum valuit consilio atque auctoritate, ut,  
 did-he-prevail <sup>1</sup>by (his) <sup>1</sup>counsel and authority, that

adjuncto se rege Armeniorum, renovavit  
having united himself with-the-king of-the-Armenians, he-renewed  
novis opibus que copiis.  
(the contest) with-new resources and forces.

16. Ac, si mihi nunc dicen-  
And, if 'it-were (necessary) for-me now 'to-  
dum esset, de rebus gestis nostri exercitûs  
speak, concerning the things performed (by) our army  
que imperatoris, possem commemorare plurima et  
and general, I-might relate many, and  
maxima prœlia. Sed non agimus id.  
great battles. But 'we-are not 'doing that, (nor is  
Dico hoc: si hoc bellum, si hic  
it our object). I-say this: if this war, if this  
hostis, si ille rex contemnendus fuisset, neque  
enemy, if that king were-to-have-been-despised, neither  
senatus, et Romanus populus putasset  
'would the senate, and Roman people 'have-thought, (that)  
suscipiendum tantâ curâ, neque gessis-  
it-was-to-be-undertaken with-so-much care, nor would-they-  
set tot annos, neque  
have-waged (the war) for-so-many years, nor (would there have  
tanta gloria L. Lucnlli: neque vero  
been) such-great glory (to) L. Lucullus; nor indeed  
Romanus populus, tanto studio, detulisset  
'would the Roman people, with-such-great zeal, 'have-offered  
ad Cn. Pompeium curam conficiendi  
(and entrusted) to Cn. Pompey the care of-finishing  
ejus belli; ex omnibus cujus pugnâ, quæ  
this war; of all his (Pompey's) battles, which  
sunt innumerabiles, vel acerrima videtur mihi  
are innumerable, yet the-most-violent seems to-me  
illa, quæ commissâ est cum rege, et pugnata  
that, which he-engaged-in with the king, and fought  
summâ contentione. Cum ille eripuisset se  
with-the-greatest ardour. When he (Mithridates) had-escaped  
ex qua pugnâ, et confugisset Bosporum, quæ  
from that battle, and had-fled to-the-Bosphorus, whither

exercitus posset non adire; etiam in extremâ  
an army could not approach; also in (his) extreme

fortunâ et fugâ retinuit tamen regium nomen.  
fortune and flight he-retained however the royal name.

Itaque Pompeius ipse possesso  
Therefore Pompey himself having-obtained-possession (of his)

regno, hoste pulso, ex omnibus oris,  
kingdom, (and) the enemy being-driven, from all (his) regions,

ac notis sedibus, tamen posuit tantum  
and known places (and resorts), however he-placed so-much

in animâ unius, ut cum  
(importance) in the life of-one-man, that when he (Pompey)

possideret omnia, quæ ille tenuerat  
possessed all, which he (Mithridates) had-possessed

adierat speraret victoriâ;  
might-have-made-claim-to, (or) might-have-hoped-for by (his) victory;

tamen non judicavit, bellum confectum  
however 'he did not 'think (that) the war was-finished,

antequam expulit illum vitâ. Tu, Cato,  
before-that he-had-deprived him of-life. 'Do you, O Cato,

contemnis hunc hostem, cum quo, tot imperatores  
'despise this enemy, with whom, so-many commanders

gesserunt bella per tot annos tot  
have-waged wars through so-many years (and through) so-many

proeliis? vita cujus expulsi et ejecti  
battles? (and 'was not) the life of-him 'expelled and ejected

æstimata est tanti, ut,  
(from his kingdom) esteemed of-so-much-importance, that,

ejus morte nuntiata, tum denique  
his death being-announced, then at-length (only)

arbitraremur bellum confectum? Igitur in hoc  
we-thought the war was-finished? Therefore in this

bello, defendimus L. Murenam, legatum  
war, we-maintain (that) L. Murena, (as a) lieutenant

cognitum esse fortissimi animi summi  
was-known (as a man of) of-the-greatest courage of-the-greatest

consilii maximi laboris; et hanc  
counsel (and skill, and also) of-the-greatest industry; and (that) this

ejus operam habuisse non minus dignitatis  
his performance (and services) have no less a claim

ad adipiscendum consulatum, quàm  
(founded on merit) for obtaining the consulship, than

hanc nostram forensem industriam.

this our forensic industry.

17. "At enim in petitione præturæ Servius

"But indeed in the soliciting of-the-prætorship Servius

renuntiatus est prior." Ne  
was-announced (as) the first," (or highest on the list). What,

vos pergitis agere cum populo ex syngraphâ  
'are you proceeding to-deal with the people as-if-on a bond

ut, quem locum honoris,  
(or written contract), so-that, whatever place (or rank) of-honour,

semel dederit cuiquam, eundem  
'they-may once 'have-given to-any-one, the same (rank)

debeat reliquis honoribus? Enim  
they-ought (to confer on him) in-other honours (of office)? For

quod fretum, quem Euripum putatis habere  
what strait, what Euripus do-you-think has

tot motus, tantas, tam varias agitationes  
so-many movements, so-great, (and) such varied agitations

fluctuum, ratio comitiorum  
of (its) waves, as the manner (and nature) of-the-comitia 'may (not)

habet quantas perturbationes et quantos  
'have equally-great perturbations and equally-great (swellings)

æstus? Unus dies intermissus,  
and tossings of) tides? A single day having-been-discontinued,

aut nox interposita, sæpe perturbat omnia;  
or a night having-been-interposed, often disturbs every-thing;

et parva aura rumoris nonnunquam commutat  
and the small breeze of-rumour sometimes changes

totam opinionem. Sæpe etiam sine ullâ apertâ  
the entire opinion. Often also without any open

causâ fit aliud, atque existimamus,  
cause the thing-terminates otherwise, than we-supposed

ut nonnunquam etiam populus admiretur  
(it would), so-that sometimes even the people wonder



factum esse ita: quasi vero ipse non  
(that) it-was-done so: as-if indeed they-themselves 'had not  
fecerit. Nihil est incertius vulgo,

'done (it). Nothing is more-uncertain (than) the common-people,  
nihil obscurius voluntate hominum, nihil  
nothing more-obscure (than) the wishes of-men, nothing  
fallacius totâ ratione comitiorum.  
more-fallacious (than) the whole order (and nature) of-the-comitia

Quis arbitratus est,  
(and the result of their elections). Who would-have-supposed, (that)

L. Philippum summo ingenio, operâ, gratiâ.  
L. Philippus (a man of the) greatest talent, industry, favour,

nobilitate posse superari a M. Herennio?  
(and) nobility could be-overcome by M. Herennius?

Quis Q. Catulum antecellentem  
Who (thought that) Q. Catulum (a man) excelling

humanitate, sapientiâ, integritate a  
in-humanity, wisdom, (and) integrity (would be beaten) by

Cn. Mallio? quis M. Scaurum, hominem  
Cn. Mallius? who (thought that) M. Scaurus, a man

gravissimum, egregium civem,  
of-great-weight-of-character, a-most-excellent citizen, (and)

fortissimum senatorem a  
most-intrepid senator, (would be beaten, at the election,) by

Q. Maximo? Non modo putatum esset horum  
Q. Maximus? Not only was-it-thought (that) of-these-things

nihil fore ita, sed cum quidem esset  
nothing would-happen so, but when indeed it-was

factum, potuit ne intelligi, quare factum esset ita.  
done, it-could not be-understood, why it-was-done so.

Nam ut tempestates sæpe commoventur aliquo  
For as storms often are-excited by-some

certo signo coeli, sæpe improvise  
certain sign of-the-heavens, (so also) often 'they-are suddenly

concitantur ex nullâ certâ ratione, ex aliquâ  
'put-in-motion from no certain reason, (or) from some

obscurâ causâ: sic, in hac populari tempestate  
obscure cause: so, in this popular tempest

comitiorum                      sæpe intelligas, quo signo  
of-the-comitia    'you-may often    'know,    by-what sign

commota sit ;                      sæpe causa est ita  
it-may-have-been-set-in-motion ; (but) often the cause is so

obscura, ut videatur excitata esse casu.  
obscure, that it-may-seem to-have-been-excited by-chance.

18. Sed tamen, si ratio reddenda est, duæ  
But however, if a reason must-be-given, two

res vehementer desideratæ sunt in  
things were most-particularly wanting, in (soliciting)

præturâ, quæ ambæ profuerunt Murenæ in  
the prætorship, which both were-of-advantage to-Murena, in

consulatu : una expectatio muneris,  
(soliciting) the consulship : the one (was) the expectation of-public-shows,

quæ creverat, et nonnullo rumore, et studiis  
which had-increased, both by-certain rumours, and by-the-zeal

que sermonibus competitorum : altera, quod  
and conversation 'of (his) 'competitors : the other, that

ii, quos habuerat in provinciâ ac legatione  
those, whom he-had in the province and legation, (as)

testes omnis, et suæ liberalitatis et virtutis,  
witnesses of-all, both of-his liberality and 'of (his) 'virtue,

nondum decesserant. Fortuna reservavit  
'had not-yet 'left (the province). Fortune had-reserved

utrumque horum ei ad petitionem consulatûs.  
each of-them for-him for (his) seeking-for the consulship.

Nam et exercitus L. Luculli, qui convenerat  
For both the army of-L. Lucullus, that had-assembled

ad triumphum, idem fuit præsto comitiis L.  
for the triumph, the same was present at-the-comitia of-L.

Murenæ ; et amplissimum  
Murena, (to assist him in obtaining the consulship) ; and the most-splendid

munus, quod desiderabat petitio præturæ,  
public-shows, which were-wanting in-seeking-for the prætorship,

restituit præturâ. Num  
he-replaced, (by giving them 'in (his) 'prætorship. Whether 'do

hæc videntur tibi parva adjumenta et  
these-things 'appear to-you trifling aids and

subsidia consulatûs? Voluntas militum?  
 assistances (for obtaining) the consulship? (Is) the good-will of-the-soldiers

quæ cum valet per se  
 (a trifle)? which as it-avails by itself 'on-account-of (its)

multitudine, tum gratiâ apud suos,  
 'numbers, as-also 'by (their) 'influence among their-own

tum vero in declarando consule,  
 (connexions), so indeed in electing a consul,

habet etiam multum auctoritatis  
 (the army) has also much authority (and weight)

apud universum Romanum populum. Suffragatio  
 with the entire Roman people. (Is) the vote

militaris? enim consularibus comitiis  
 of-the-military (a trifle)? for in-the-consular comitia

imperatores deliguntur non interpretes  
 commanders are-elected not interpreters (and expounders)

verborum. Quare gravis est  
 of-words (and legal forms). Therefore weighty (and influential) is

illa oratio,  
 that speech, (of the soldier to the by-standers, at the comitia),

“recreavit me saucium, donavit me  
 “he-took-care-of me wounded, he-gave me (a share of)

præda; hoc duce, cepimus castra  
 the booty; under-this leader, we-took (that) camp, (and)

contulimus signa; nunquam iste imposuit  
 fought (that) battle; never 'did this-general 'impose

plus laboris militi, quàm ipse sumpsit  
 more labour on-the-soldier, than he was-willing-to-undergo

sibi; cum fortis, tum felix etiam.”  
 himself; as brave (as he was), so fortunate (he) also (was).”

Quanti putas hoc esse ad  
 How-much do-you-think (that) this is (of use) to (gain)

famam, ac voluntatem hominum? Etenim si  
 renown, and the good-will of-men? For if

religio est tanta illis comitiis,  
 (the feeling of a) religious (superstition) is so-great in-those comitia.

ut semper adhuc omen  
 that alway (even) to-the-present (time), the omen (of the century)

prærogativum valuerit,  
 that-by-lot-voted-first, 'had (a great) 'influence (on the result of the elec-  
 tion), quid est mirum, in hoc famam  
 what is (then) wonderful, (that) in this-man the renown  
 felicitatis que sermonem valu-  
 'of (his) 'good-fortune, and the discourse (of his soldiers) should-have-  
 isse?  
 'availed (so much)?

19. Sed, si ducis hæc leviora, quæ  
 But, if you-think these-things too-trifling, which (yet)  
 sunt gravissima, et anteponis hanc urbanam  
 are the most-important, and (if) you-prefer these city  
 suffragationem militari, noli valde contemnere  
 votes to-the-military (votes), do-not too-much despise  
 elegantiam hujus ludorum, et magnificentiam  
 the elegance of-his shows, and the magnificence 'of (his)  
 scenæ;  
 scenes, (and theatrical exhibitions, as given for the gratification of the  
 quæ admodum profuerunt huic.  
 people); which 'were greatly 'advantageous to-him  
 Nam quid ego  
 (in procuring the favour of the people). For what 'shall I  
 dicam, populum ac vulgus imperitorum  
 'say, (but that) the people, and the multitude of-ignorant-men  
 magnopere delectari ludis?  
 'are greatly 'delighted with-games (and public shows)?

Est minus mirandum: quanquam id est  
 (Which) is less to-be-wondered-at: although it is  
 satis huic causæ; enim comitia sunt  
 sufficient for-this cause; for the comitia are (composed)  
 populi ac multitudinis. Quare si magnificentia  
 of-the-people and of-the-multitude. Wherefore if the magnificence  
 ludorum est voluptati populo  
 of-games (and public shows) is a pleasure to-the-people,  
 est non mirandum, eam profuisse  
 it-is not to-be-wondered-at, (that) it was-of-service  
 L. Murenæ apud populum. Sed si nosmet ipsi,  
 to-L. Murena with the people. But if we ourselves,



qui et impedimur negotiis ab omni  
 who are both 'hindered by-business from (taking part in) all  
 delectatione, et in occupatione ipsa, possumus  
 amusements, and in (that) occupation itself, we-can  
 habere multas alias delectationes, tamen oblectamur  
 have many other amusements, however are-delighted  
 et ducimur ludis; quid tu admirere  
 and are-attracted by-shows-and-games; why 'are you (then) 'astonished  
 de indoctâ multitudine? L. Otho, fortis vir,  
 at the ignorant multitude? L. Otho, a brave man,  
 meus necessarius restituit equestri ordini  
 my intimate-acquaintance restored to-the-equestrian order  
 non solum dignitatem, sed etiam voluptatem.  
 not only (its) dignity, but also (its) pleasure,  
 Itaque hæc  
 (by the seats assigned to it at the public games). Therefore this  
 lex, quæ pertinet ad ludos, est omnium  
 law, which relates to the public-games-and-shows, is of-all  
 gratissima, quòd honestissimo ordini  
 the most-agreeable (and acceptable), because to-a-most-honourable order  
 restitutus est, cum splendore, quoque  
 is-restored, with the splendour (of their rank), also  
 fructus jucunditatis. Quare ludi, crede  
 the enjoyment 'of (their) 'pleasure. Therefore games, believe  
 mihi, delectant homines, etiam illos, qui dissimulant,  
 me, delight men, as-well those, who dissimulate  
 non solum eos,  
 (and pretend, not to be delighted therewith), as not only those,  
 qui fatentur; quod ego sensi  
 who confess (they are pleased therewith); which I experienced  
 in mea petitione. Nam nos quoque  
 in my application (for the consulship). For we also  
 habuimus scenam competitricem. Quòd  
 had a theatrical-decoration as-a-competitor. And-though  
 si ego ædilis feceram trinos ludos, tamen  
 if I, (who when) ædile gave the triple games, 'was however  
 commovebar ludis Antonii; putas  
 'moved (and alarmed) by-the-games of-Antonius; do-you-think,

istam ipsam argenteam scenam hujus  
 [this] this same silver scene of-this (man Murena),  
 quam irrides, nihil adversatam tibi, qui casu  
 which you-deride, 'was nothing 'against you, who by-chance  
 feceras nullos? Sed sane omnia  
 '(never) gave 'any (games)? But indeed 'let all  
 hæc sint paria; forensis opera sit par militari  
 these 'be equal; 'let forensic labour 'be equal to-military  
 urbana suffragatio sit par militari;  
 'let the civic vote 'be equal to-the-military; 'let (those,  
 fecisse magnificentissimos ludos sit idem,  
 who) have-given the most-magnificent games 'be the same,  
 et unquam fecisse nullos: quid?  
 as (those who) 'have never 'given any: what (then)?  
 Ne existimas nihil interfuisse  
 'do-you 'think there 'was nothing 'present (of difference)  
 inter tuam sortem, in ipsâ præturâ, et  
 between your lot, in that-same prætorship, and (that)  
 istius?  
 of-this-man [Murena]?

20. Sors hujus fuit ea, quam omnes tui  
 The lot of him [Murena] was that, which all 'we your  
 necessarii optabamus tibi, dicendi juris;  
 friends 'wished for-you, (namely, that) of deciding the law  
 in qua, magnitudo negotii  
 (and dispensing justice); in which, the greatness of-the-business  
 conciliat gloriam, largitio æquitatis  
 procures renown, (and) the liberality of-equitable-decision (procures)  
 gratiam: in qua sorte, sapiens prætor, qualis  
 favour: in which lot (of office), a wise prætor, as  
 hic fuit, vitat offensionem  
 this (man) [Murena] was, avoids (giving) offence  
 æquabilitate decernendi, adjungit benevolentiam  
 by-the-uniform-justice of-his-decisions, he-unites benevolence  
 lenitate audiendi.  
 with-indulgent-affability of-listening (to complaints). (This is a)  
 Egregia provincia, et apta ad  
 most excellent province, and adapted for (obtaining)

consulatum, in qua laus æquitatis, integritatis,  
the consulship, in which the praise of-justice, of-integrity,

facilitatis, ad extremum concluditur  
of-affability (may be obtained, and which) at last is-terminated

voluptate ludorum. Quid tua sors?  
by-the-pleasure of public-plays. What (was) your lot?

tristis, atrox; questio peculatûs,  
a gloomy, (and) harsh-one; inquiry-into embezzlement-of-public-money,

ex alterâ parte, lacrimarum et squaloris, ex  
on the-one side, (full) of tears and squalid-appearance, on

alterâ, plena catenarum, atque  
the-other (side), full of-chains (and imprisonments), and

indicum. Judices cogendi inviti,  
of informers. Judges are-to-be-forced-to-sit 'against (their) 'will, (and)

retinendi contra voluntatem; scriba damnatus,  
to-be-detained against (their) will; a scribe was-condemned,

totus ordo alienus:  
the whole order (was, in consequence), alienated (from him):

gratificatio Sullana  
the-bounty of Sylla (from the public treasury to his followers)

reprehensa; multi fortes viri, et prope  
is condemned (and reversed); many brave men, and nearly (a great)

pars civitatis offensa est; lites severe  
part of-the-city are offended; damages 'are severely

æstimatæ; cui placet obliviscitur,  
'assessed; (he) to whom it-gives-pleasure forgets-it, (but he),

cui dolet, meminit. Postremo tu noluisti  
to-whom it-gives pain, remembers-it. In-fine you would-not

ire in provinciam. Possum non  
go to the province (assigned to you). I can not

reprehendere id in te, quod probavi in me ipso,  
reprehend that in you, which I-approved in my self.

et prætor et consul.  
both (when) prætor and consul, (by not going to the provinces assigned

Sed tamen provincia attulit multas bonas  
to me). But however the province brought many excellent

gratias L. Murenæ, cum optimâ existimatione.  
favours for-L. Murena, with the greatest reputation.

**Profeiscens habuit delectum in Umbriâ;**  
 Journeying-thither he-had a levy-of-troops in Umbria; (the state of)  
**respublica dedit ei facultatem liberalitatis;**  
 the republic gave to-him the power of-being-liberal (and indul-

gent, as respects the levy); **usus quâ, adjunxit**  
 having-made-use of-which, he-united

**multas tribus sibi, quæ conficiuntur**  
 many tribes to-himself (in interest), which are-constituted

**municipiis Umbriæ. Autem in Galliâ ipsâ,**  
 by-the-municipalities of-Umbria. But in Gaul itself,

**perfectit æquitate que diligentia, ut nostri**  
 he-accomplished 'by (his) 'equity and diligence, that our

**homines exigerunt pecunias jam desperatas. Tu**  
 men recovered money already despaired-of. You

**interea fuisti Romæ, silicet præsto**  
 in-the-mean-time were at-Rome, without-doubt (to be) near (and aiding)

**amicis. Fateor; sed tamen cogita**  
 'to (your) 'friends. I-confess (all this); but however think-on

**illud, studia nonnullorum amicorum solere**  
 this, (that) the zeal of-some friends is-accustomed

**minui in eos, a quibus intelligant**  
 to-be-diminished towards those, by whom they-understand (that)

**provincias contemni.**  
 provinces are-despised.

**21. Et quoniam, ostendi, judices, fuisse**  
 And because, I-have-shown, O judges, (that) there-was

**parem dignitatem in Murenâ atque in**  
 equal dignity (and worth) in Murena and in

**Sulpicio, ad petitionem consulatûs, disparem**  
 Sulpicius, in (their) claims of-the-consulship, (but) unequal

**fortunam provincialium negotiorum; jam dicam**  
 good-fortune of-provincial affairs; I-may now say (it)

**apertiùs, in quo meus necessarius Servius fuerit**  
 more-openly, in what my intimate-friend Servius may-have-been

**infe ior, et dicam ea,**  
 inferior, (as a candidate for the consulship), and I-may-say these-things,

**vobis audientibus, tempore**  
 you listening, the time (and occasion of the election)



jam amisso, quæ sæpe dixi ipsi soli,  
 'having now 'passed, which 'I often 'said to-himself alone,

re integrâ. Persæpe  
 the business (of the election) being-undetermined. 'I-have very often

dixi tibi, Servi, te nescire peteræ  
 'told you, O Servius, (that) you know-not-how to-solicit

consulatum: et in iis rebus ipsis, quas  
 the consulship: and in those things themselves, (respecting) which

videbam te, et agere et dicere, magno et  
 I-saw you, both act and speak, with-a-great and

forti animo, solitus sum dicere tibi, te videri  
 courageous mind, I-used to-say to-you, (that) you seemed

mihi magis fortem senatorem, quàm sapientem  
 to-me more (like) an intrepid senator, than a prudent

candidatum. Primum terrores et minæ accusandi,  
 candidate. In-the-first-place the terrors and threats of impeaching

quibus tu  
 (those candidates, who might be suspected of bribery), which you

solebas uti quotidie, sunt fortis viri;  
 used to-use daily, (may) be (the part) of-an-intrepid man;

sed et avertunt opinionem populi a spe  
 but both turn-away the opinion of-the-people from (any) hope

adipiscendi, et debilitant studia  
 (on his part) of obtaining (office), and weaken the zeal

amicorum. Nescio quo pacto hoc fit semper;  
 'of (his) 'friends. I-know-not by-what means it is always (so);

neque animadversum est in uno aut altero,  
 neither has-it-been-observed in one or two (candidates),

sed jam in pluribus; simul atque candidatus  
 but already in many; (that) as-soon-as a candidate

visus est meditari accusationem, videatur  
 seems to-meditate impeachment (of candidates), it-appears

ut desperasse honorem. Quid ergo?  
 that (he) has-despaired (of) the honour (of office). What then?

non placet persequi injuriam acceptam?  
 'is-it not 'agreeable to prosecute an injury received?

Immo vehementer placet; sed est aliud  
 Indeed 'it-is exceedingly 'agreeable; but there is a different

tempus petendi, aliud persequendi.  
time for soliciting (the consulship), a different (time) for prosecuting

Ego volo petitozem, præsertim  
(candidates). I require (that) a candidate, especially

consulatûs, magnâ spe, magno animo,  
for-the-consulship, (should be of) great hope, of-great courage,

deduci, et in forum, et in campum,  
and be-accompanied, both into the forum, and into the Campus Martius,

magnis copiis: inquisitio  
by-a-great assemblage (of friends): the-inquiry-into-the-conduct

candidati, prænuntia repulsæ, non placet mihi;  
of-a-candidate, the announcer of-a-repulse, 'does not 'please me;

non comparatio testium potius, quàm suffragatorum;  
neither the procuring of-witnesses rather, than of-voters;

non minæ magis, quàm blanditiæ; non  
neither threats more, than blandishments; neither (angry)

declamatio potius, quàm persalutatio;  
declamations (against bribery) rather, than saluting

præsertim cum jam,  
(the people by name, and soliciting votes); especially when now,

hoc novo more omnes  
in-this new manner (of soliciting votes), all

concursent domos fere omnium,  
the candidates go-round among-the-houses 'of nearly 'all (the citizens),

et ex vultu candidatorum faciant, quantum  
and from the countenance of-the-candidates they-make-out, how-much

quisque videatur habere animi et facultatis.  
each-one may-seem to-have (of hope) spirit, and of-means

“Tu ne vides illum tristem?  
(for the contest). “‘Do you not 'see that sad-looking (man)?

demissum? jacet, diffidit,  
(that) dejected (one)? he-is-down, he-doubts-his-chance,

abjecit hastas.” Hic  
he-has-thrown-away his spears (and given up the day).” This

rumor serpit: “tu scis illum cogitare  
rumor spreads-abroad: “do you know (that) he is-thinking-of

accusationem? inquirere  
an impeachment (of the candidates)? (that) he-is-inquiring

in competitores? quærere testes?  
 in (relation to his) competitors? (that) he-is-seeking-for witnesses?

Faciam alium, quoniam hic ipse  
 I-will-make another (my candidate), because this-one himself

desperat sibi." Intimi amici ejusmodi  
 despairs (of success)" The intimate friends of-this-kind

candidatorum debilitantur, deponunt  
 of-candidates are-debilitated (and dispirited), they-remit-in (their)

studia, aut abjiciunt rem testatam;  
 zeal (for him), or give-up the thing evident (to all as hopeless);

aut reservant suam operam et gratiam, judicio  
 or reserve their aid and influence, for-the-trial

et accusationi.  
 and accusation.

22. Accedit eòdem, ut, etiam candidatus  
 It-happens likewise, that, even the candidate

ipse, possit non ponere totum animum, atque  
 himself, can not place (his) entire mind, and

omnem suam curam, operam, que diligentiam in  
 all his care, labour, and diligence in

petitione. Enim cogitatio accusationis adjun-  
 soliciting (office). For the thought of impeachment is-added-

gitur, non parva res, sed nimirum maxima  
 thereto, not a small affair, but assuredly the greatest

omnium. Enim est magnum, te comparare  
 of-all. For it-is a great-thing, (that) you prepare

ea, quibus possis exturbare hominem a  
 those-things, by-which you-can expel a man from

civitate, præsertim  
 the state, (and deprive him of the rights of citizenship), especially

non inopem, neque infirmum; qui  
 (one, who is) not destitute, nor weak; who

defendatur, et per se, et per suos,  
 can-defend-himself, both by himself, and by his-own (friends),

et etiam vero per alienos. Enim omnes  
 and even indeed by strangers. For 'we all

concurrimus ad propulsanda pericula; et qui  
 'hasten to repel danger; and 'we, who

sumus non aperte inimici, in periculis  
'are not openly enemies, (and) in the danger

capitis præstamus  
of-capital-punishment, (either of life, or loss of citizenship), offer

officia et studia amicissimorum, etiam  
the duties and zeal of-the-most-friendly (relations), even

alienissimis. Quare ego expertus molestiam  
to-the-greatest-strangers. Whereas I-having-experienced the trouble

et petendi, et defendendi, et accusandi,  
both of-soliciting (office), and of-defending, and of-accusing,

sic intellexi; in petendo  
'I-have thus 'understood, (and formed my opinion); (that) in seeking

esse acerrimum studium; in  
(for office) there-is the most-ardent zeal (required); in

defendendo officium; in accusando  
defending (a person) duty (and faithfulness); in accusing

laborem. Itaque statuo  
(and impeaching) labour (and industry). Therefore I-maintain

sic, ut posse nullo modò fieri, ut  
(it to be) thus, that it-can in-no wise be-done, that

idem diligenter adornet, atque  
the same (person) 'can diligently 'prepare (materials), and

instruat accusationem, et petitionem  
arrange (them) for-an-accusation (or impeachment), and for-a-soliciting

consulatûs. Pauci possunt sustinere unum,  
(for) the consulship. Few can sustain the one (part),

nemo utrumque. Tu existimasti, cum deflexisses  
no-one both. 'Did you 'think, when you-turned-aside

te de curriculo petitionis, que transtulisses  
from the career of-seeking-office, and transferred (your)

animum ad accusandum, te posse satisfacere  
mind to impeachment, (that) you could satisfy

utrique negotio? Vehementer  
(the requirements) for-both affairs? (If you did) 'you greatly

errasti. Enim quis dies fuit, posteaquam  
erred. For what day was-there, after-that

ingressus es in istam denuntiationem  
you-entered on this announcement (of your intention)



accusandi, quem tu non totum consumps-<sup>is</sup>  
 of-impeaching, which you 'did not altogether consume  
 in istâ ratione?  
 in this employment (of procuring materials, for an impeachment)?

23. Flagitasti legem ambitûs, quæ  
 You earnestly-demanded a law (against) 'bribery, which  
 non deerat tibi. Enim erat Calpurnia  
 (law) 'was not 'wanting to-you. For there-was the Calpurnian  
 scripta severissime. Gestus mos est, et  
 (law) written (in) very-severe (terms). In-compliance, both  
 tuæ voluntati et dignitati.  
 'with your 'wish and dignity, (a new law, respecting bri-

Sed tota illa lex fortasse  
 bery, was passed). But all that law 'might perhaps  
 armasset tuam accusationem si haberes  
 'have-armed your impeachment (with new terrors) if you-had

reum nocentem; vero refragata est  
 an accused-person really-guilty; but-indeed it-was-opposed-to (and  
 petitioni. Gravior

injurios) 'to (your) 'seeking (the consulship). More-severe  
 pœna efflagitata est tuâ voce, in plebem;  
 punishment was-earnestly-demanded by-your voice, against the people;

animi tenuiorum commoti; exsilium in  
 the minds of-the-lower-orders were-alarmed; banishment against

nostrum ordinem; senatus concessit  
 our (senatorial) order (for bribery); the senate acceded

tuæ postulationi, sed non libenter constituit  
 to-your request, but not willingly did-they-establish

duriorem conditionem communi fortunæ,  
 a severer condition for-the-common fortune (of the order

te auctore. Pœna addita est  
 of senators), you (being) the author (thereof). Punishment was-added

excusationi morbi, voluntas multorum  
 to-excuses (on account) of-sickness, the good-will of-many

offensa, quibus aut laborandum est,  
 (towards you) was-hurt, by-whom either business-is-to-be-performed

contra commodum valetudinis,  
 (in the courts), contrary to-the-state (of the'r) health,

aut incommodo morbi, etiam ceteri fructus  
or to-the-inconvenience of-sickness, also the other advantages

vitæ relinquendi. Quid ergo? quis tulit  
of-life are-to-be-relinquished. What then? who proposed

hæc? Is, qui paruit auctoritati senatûs,  
these-things? He, who obeyed the authority of-the-senate, (and)

tuæ voluntati: denique is tulit, qui  
your wish: in-fine he proposed (it), who 'did

mimime probarat. Existimas illa,  
not-at-all 'approve (it). Do-you-think (that) these, (following

propositiones of yours), quæ, meâ summâ voluntate,  
which, with-my highest approbation,

frequens senatus repudiavit, mediocriter  
a full senate rejected, 'was (only) slightly

adversata esse tibi?  
'opposed-as-a-hinderance to-you (in the affair of the consulship)?

Flagitasti confusionem suffragiorum,  
You-earnestly-demanded the confused (mingling) of-the-votes

prorogationem legis Maniliæ, æquationem  
(of the centuries), an extension of-the-law of-Manilia, an equalizing

gratiæ, dignitatis suffragiorum. Honesti  
of-the-influence, (and) rank of-suffrage. Honourable

homines, atque gratiosi in suis vicinitatibus, et  
men, and of-influence in their neighbourhood, and

municipiis tulerunt graviter, pugnatum esse  
municipalities took-it ill, (that) they-should-be-opposed

a tali viro, ut omnes gradus et dignitatis et  
by such a man, so-that all degrees both of-rank and

gratiæ tollerentur, idem  
of-influence should-be-taken-away (from them), 'you, the same-person,

voluisti iudices esse editicios,  
'desired the judges to-be chosen (by the parties in the suit),

ut occulta odia civium, quæ nunc continentur  
so-that the secret hatreds of-citizens, which 'are now contained

tacitis discordiis, erumperent in  
(within the bounds of) private animosities, may-break-out against

fortunas cujusque optimi. Omnia hæc  
the fortunes of-any very-great (person). All these-things

muniebant viam accusandi tibi, obsæpiebant  
 fortified the way of-impeaching for-you, (but) they-obstructed  
 adipiscendi.

(that) of-obtaining (the consulship).

Atque ex omnibus illa maxima plaga  
 And from all (which) that very-great wound  
 injecta est tuæ petitioni, me non tacente,  
 was-given to-your seeking (the consulship), I not being-silent,

de quâ multa gravissime dicta sunt ab  
 about which many-things 'were very-severely 'said by (that)

ingeniosissimo et copiosissimo homine Hortensio.  
 very-talented and very-fluent man Hortensius.

Quò etiam durior locus datus mihi dicendi;  
 Wherefore also a more-difficult task is-given to-me of-speaking;

ut, cum ante me, et ille dixisset, et  
 as, when before me, both he had-spoken, and (likewise)

M. Crassus, vir et summâ dignitate, et  
 M. Crassus, a man both (of) the greatest dignity, and

diligentiâ, et facultate dicendi; ego in extremo,  
 diligence, and talent in-speaking; I in the last-place,

non agerem aliquam partem  
 (and concluding), 'will not 'treat any (particular) part

causæ, sed dicerem de totâ re,  
 of-the-cause, but may-speak concerning the whole affair,

quod videretur mihi. Itaque versor  
 what might-seem (proper) to-me. Therefore I-am- (now) occupied

fere in iisdem rebus, et, quoad possum, iudices,  
 nearly with the same subjects, and, as-much-as I-can, O judges,

occurro vestræ sapientiæ.

I-help your wisdom, (in coming to a decision).

24. Sed tamen, Servi, quam securim putas  
 But however, O Servius, what axe do-you-think

te injecisse, tuæ petitioni  
 (that) you laid, (to cut off the success of) your seeking

cum tu adduxisti Romanum  
 (for the consulship), when you (by your conduct) had-brought the Roman

populum in eum metum, ut pertimesceret  
 people into that (state of) apprehension, that they-greatly-feared

ne Catilina fieret consul, dum tu comparares  
lest Catiline might-be-made consul, while you were-preparing

accusationem, depositâ atque abjectâ  
an impeachment, having-given-up and thrown-aside (your)

petitione? Etenim videbant te inquirere,  
application (for the consulship)? For they-saw you inquiring-for

tristem ipsum, amicos  
(witnesses, and proofs of bribery), sad yourself, (and your) friends

mœstos; animadvertēbant observationes, testifica-  
dejected; they-noticed the precautions, the deposi-

tiones, seductiones testium, secessionem  
tions, the taking-aside of-witnesses, the going-apart (and consultation)

subscriptorum; quibus rebus  
of-the-subscribers, (who abetted the impeachment); by-which things

certe, vultus ipsi candidatorum solent  
certainly, the countenances themselves of-the-candidates used

videri obscuriores; Catilinam inter-  
to-appear more-clouded (and dejected); (that) Catiline in-the-mean-

ea alacrem atque lætum, stipatum choro  
time (was) active and cheerful, densely-accompanied by-a-band

juventutis; vallatum indicibus atque sicariis;  
of-young-men; surrounded by-informers and assassins;

inflatum cum spe militum tum  
inflated with the hope (of the assistance) of-the-soldiers, as-also

promissis mei collegæ, quemadmodum ipse  
the promises of-my colleague, as he-himself

dicebat; circumfluentem exercitu Arretinorum et  
said; encompassed by-an-army of-Arretinian and

Fesulanorum colonorum, quam turbam, ex  
Fesulanian colonists, which crowd, (composed) of

dissimillimo genere, homines distinguebant  
very-different materials, (those) men very-remarkable (who)

perculsi calamitate temporis Sullani. Ipsius  
were-ruined by-the-calamity of-the-times of-Sylla. His

vultus erat plenus furoris; oculi  
[Catiline's] countenance was full of-fury; (his) eyes

sceleris; sermo arrogantiae sic ut consulatus  
of-wickedness; (his) speech of-arrogance so that the consulship



videretur ei jam exploratus, et conditus domi.  
might-seem to-him (as) now certain, and laid-up at-home

Contemnebat Murenam;  
(to be used when required). He-despised Murena,

numerabat Sulpicium suum accusatorem, non  
he-counted Sulpicius (amongst) his accusers, not

competitorem; denunciabat vim ei;  
(as his) competitor; he-announced violence to-him;

minabatur reipublicae.  
he-threatened the republic.

25. Quibus rebus, qui timor sit injectus omnibus  
By-which things, what fear was-excited in-all

bonis, que quanta desperatio reipublicae, si  
good (men), and what-great desperation of-the-republic, if

ille factus esset, nolite velle a me  
he should-be-made (consul), do-not require of me  
commoneri; vosmet ipsi recordamini  
that-it-be-adverted-to; you yourselves remember (all this)

cum vobis. Enim meministis, cum voces illius  
among yourselves. For you-remember, when the expressions of-that

nefarii gladiatoris percrebuisent, quas dicebatur  
wicked gladiator [Catiline] had-spread-abroad which it-was-said

habuisse in domesticâ concione, cum negasset  
he-delivered in a private meeting, when he-may-have-denied,

fidelem defensorem miserorum posse inveniri  
(that) a faithful defender of-the-unfortunate could be-found,

nisi eum, qui ipse, esset miser;  
unless (that) he, as himself [Catiline], might-be unfortunate;

saucios et miseros opertere non credere  
(that) the injured and unfortunate ought not to-trust,

promissis integrorum et fortunatorum; quare  
to-the-promises of-the-uninjured and fortunate; wherefore

qui vellent replere consumpta  
(those) who desire to-replenish (their) exhausted (fortunes, and)

recuperare erepta, spectarent  
to-recover (that, which) has-been-taken (from them), let-them-see-to-it,

quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid  
what any-one-himself may-owe, what he-may-possess, what

auderet; oportere eum, qui futurus esset  
he-might-dare (to do); (that) it-behoved him, who was-to-be

dux et signifer calamitosorum, esse minime  
the leader and standard-bearer of-the-unfortunate, to-be little

timidum, et valde calamitosum.  
fearful, and (to have undergone) great calamities (and mis-

Igitur tum, his rebus auditis,  
fortunes). Therefore then, these things being-heard (and ascertained),

meministis senatusconsultum fieri, me referente,  
you-remember (that) a decree-of-the-senate was-made, I moving

comitia ne haberentur postero die,  
(it), (that) the comitia 'should not 'be-held on-the-next day,

ut possemus agere de his rebus in senatu.  
that we-might consult about these things in the senate.

Itaque postridie, frequenti senatu, excitavi  
Therefore next-day, (in) a full (meeting of) the senate, I-called-on

Catilinam, atque jussi eum, si quid vellet,  
Catiline, and I-requested him, if 'he so 'desired,

dicere de his rebus, quæ  
to say (something in explanation) concerning these things, which

allatæ essent ad me. Atque ille, ut semper fuit  
were-reported to me. And he, as 'he always 'was

apertissimus, non purgavit se,  
very-open (in his declarations), 'did not 'clear himself

sed indicavit atque induit.  
(of the charge), but openly-owned (them) and took-them-on-himself.

Enim tum dixit, esse duo corpora  
For then he-said, (that) there-were two bodies (in)

reipublicæ, unum debile, infirmo capite; alterum  
the republic, the one weak, with-a-weak head; the other

firmum, sine capite; huic, cum meritum esset  
strong, without a head; to-this (last), as it-had-deserved

ita de se, non defuturum caput,  
so (well) of himself, 'there-should not 'be-wanting a head, 'while

se vivo. Frequens senatus congemuit,  
he 'was-alive. A full senate groaned (at hearing this),

decrevit, tamen neque satis severe pro  
(and) passed-a-decree, however not sufficiently severe for

indignitate rei. Nam erant partim,  
 the indignity of-the-affair. For (some) 'were partly  
 ideo non fortes in decernendo, quia timebant  
 therefore not severe in 'deciding, because they-feared  
 nihil; partim, quia timebant. Tum erupit  
 nothing; (others) partly, because they-feared. Then he-rushed  
 e senatu, triumphans gaudio, quem omnino  
 from the senate, triumphing with-joy, who altogether  
 non oportuerat exire illuc vivum;  
 'ought not 'to-have-been-allowed to-depart thence alive;  
 præsertim cum ille idem, paucis diebus  
 especially when this same (Catiline), a few day:  
 ante, in eodem ordine, respondisset  
 before, in this-same order (of the senate), had-replied  
 Catoni, fortissimo viro, minitanti ac denuntianti  
 to-Cato, a most-valiant man, threatening and announcing  
 iudicium, si quod incendium excitatum esset  
 a capital-trial, (that) if any conflagration should-be-kindled  
 in suas fortunas, se non restincturum id  
 against his fortunes, (that) he 'would not 'extinguish it  
 aquâ sed ruinâ.  
 by-water but by-ruin.

26. Commotus tum his rebus, et quòd sciebam  
 Moved then by-these things, and because I knew

jam tum homines conjuratos deduci in  
 (that) already then men banded-together were-led into

campum a Catilinâ cum gladiis,  
 the Campus Martius by Catiline (armed) with swords, 'I (also)

descendi in campum cum firmissimo præsidio  
 'went-down into the campus with a strong guard

fortissimorum virorum, et cum illâ latâ que insigni  
 of-very-brave men, and with that broad and conspicuous

loricâ, non quæ tegetet me (etenim sciebam,  
 breast-plate, not that-it might-defend me, (for I-knew, (that)

Catilinam non solere petere latus aut  
 Catiline 'was no' 'used to-aim at the sides or

ventrem, sed caput et collum), verum  
 the 'fore-part-of-the-body, but at the head and neck), but

at omnes boni animadverterent, et cum  
that all good (citizens) might-notice (it), both when

viderent consulem in metu, et periculo,  
they-might-perceive the consul in fear, and in-danger, (and)

id quod est factum, concurrerent ad meum  
that which was-done, (that) they-would-assemble to my

præsidium que opem. Itaque cum putarent te,  
protection and assistance. Therefore when they-thought you,

Servi, remissiore in petendo,  
Servius, (to be) more relax in seeking-for (the consulship), (and)

viderent Catilinam inflammatum, et spe et  
saw Catiline inflamed, both with-hope and

cupiditate, omnes, qui cupiebant depellere illam  
desire, all (those), who desired to-repel that

pestem ab republica, statim contulerunt se ad  
pest from the republic, immediately went-over to

Murenam. Autem consularibus comitiis, magna  
Murena. But in-the-consular comitia, (of) great-importance,

est repentina inclinatio voluntatum, præsertim cum  
a-sudden turn of-will, especially when

incubuit ad bonum virum, et ornatum  
it-rests-on (and is inclined) to a good man, and provided

multis aliis adiumentis petitionis. Qui  
with-many other aids (in) seeking (the consulship). Who

cum honestissimo patre atque majoribus,  
is (he was) of-a-most-worthy father and ancestors,

adolescentiâ modestissimâ,  
was distinguished by-a-youth (of) much-modesty (and self-control),

legatione clarissimâ, præturâ probatâ  
in (his) 'lieutenancy greatly-distinguished, 'in (his) 'prætorship approved

in jure, gratâ in munere, in provinciâ  
in legal-affairs, acceptable in his public shows, in (his) province

ornatâ; diligenter petisset,  
every-thing-required-being-supplied; he-diligently sought (the con-

et ita petisset ut neque cederet  
ship), and so sought (it), that 'he neither 'yielded to (those,

minanti, neque minaretur cuiquam;  
threatening (him), nor did-he-threaten any-one;



mirandum est                      subitam                      spem                      Catilinæ  
 is-it-to-be-wondered-at (that) the sudden hope of-Catiline  
 adipiscendi                      consulatus                      fuisse                      magno                      adjumento  
 of-obtaining the consulship was a-great aid  
 huic ?  
 to-him ?

Est nunc ille tertius locis mihi                      orationis  
 There is now that third part for-me of (my) speech  
 de                      criminibus ambitûs,                      perpurgatus ab iis,  
 concerning the crimes of-bribery, fully-cleared-up by those,  
 qui dixerunt ante me,                      retractandus a  
 who have-spoken before me, (but which) is-again-to-be-gone-over by  
 me, quoniam Murena voluit                      ita; in quo loco  
 me, because Murena wished (it to be) so; in which place  
 respondebo                      Postumio                      meo                      familiari,  
 I-will-reply to-Postumius my intimate-friend, (and)  
 ornatissimo                      viro,                      de                      indicîis  
 most-accomplished man, concerning the discoveries  
 divisorum,                      et                      de                      pecuniis  
 of-the-distributors-of-bribes, and concerning the sums-of-money  
 deprehensis;                      ingenioso et bono  
 seized (in their hands); 'to (that) 'talented and good  
 adolescenti,                      Ser. Sulpicio,                      de                      centuriis  
 young-man, Ser. Sulpicius, concerning the centuries  
 equitum; M. Catoni, homini excellenti in omni  
 of-the-knights; to-M. Cato, a man 'excelling in every  
 virtute,                      de                      ipsius                      accusatione,                      de  
 virtue, concerning his accusation, respecting  
 senatusconsulto,                      de                      republica.  
 the-decree-of-the-senate, (and) respecting the republic.

27. Sed prius, conquerar                      pauca                      de  
 But first, I-may-complain (of) a few-things respecting  
 fortunâ L. Murenæ, quæ repente moverunt  
 (the hard) fortune of-L. Murena, which 'have suddenly 'excited  
 meum animum. Nam cum sæpe antea, iudices,  
 my mind. Now as 'I-have often heretofore, O judges,  
 et ex miseriis aliorum, et ex meis quotidianis  
 both from the miseries of-others, and from my daily

curis que laboribus, judicarem eos homines fortunatos,  
 cares and labours, 'judged those men fortunate,  
 qui, remoti a studiis ambitionis, secuti sunt otium  
 who, remote from the pursuits of-ambition, have-sought-after ease  
 ac tranquillitatem vitæ: vero tum in his tantis,  
 and tranquillity of-life: but moreover in these so-great  
 que tam improvisis periculis L. Murenæ, sum ita  
 and so unexcited dangers of-L. Murena, I-am so  
 affectus animo, ut queam non satis miserari,  
 affected 'in (my) 'mind, that I-can not sufficiently commiserate,  
 neque communem conditionem nostrum omnium,  
 æither the common condition of-us all,  
 neque eventum que fortunam hujus;  
 nor the lot and fortune of-this (man, Murena);  
 qui, primum, dum conatus est adscendere unum  
 who, firstly, when he-attempted to-ascend one  
 gradum dignitatis, ex continuis honoribus  
 degree (higher in) dignity, from the continued honours  
 familiæ que majorum, venit in periculum,  
 (of office) 'of (his) 'family and ancestors, gets in danger,  
 ne amittat ea, quæ relicta sunt,  
 lest he-may-lose those (honours), which have-been-left (him by his  
 quæ parta sunt ipso; deinde,  
 ancestors), (and) those-which were-obtained by-himself; then,  
 propter studium novæ laudis,  
 on-account-of (his) pursuit of-new praise (and honours of office),  
 etiam adducitur in discrimen veteris  
 he also 'is-led into danger (of losing his) ancient  
 fortunæ. Quæ cum sint gravia, judices,  
 fortune. Which as they-may-be serious (things), O judges,  
 tum illud est acerbissimum, quod habet eos  
 yet that is harshest, that he-has those  
 accusatores, qui non odio inimicitarum  
 as-accusers, who (are) not (induced) by-the-hatred of-animosities  
 ad accusandum, sed qui studio accusandi  
 to accuse, but who 'in (their) 'zeal of-accusing  
 descenderunt ad inimicitas. Nam, ut omittam  
 have-descended to enmities. For, that I-may-omit

Servium Sulpicium, quem intelligo, permotum  
 Servius Sulpicius, whom (as) I-understand, was-moved  
 non injuriâ L. Murenâ,  
 (and urged to action) not 'by (any) 'injury (received from) L. Murena,  
 sed contentione honoris; Cn. Postumius  
 but in-a-contest for-the-honours (of office); Cn. Postumius  
 amicus paternus accusat, ut ipse ait  
 a friend (of) the family accuses (him, and) as he-himself says  
 vetus vicinus ac necessarius, qui protulit  
 an old neighbour and acquaintance, who has-produced  
 complures causas necessitudinis, potuit commemorare  
 many instances of-friendship, (but) could remember  
 nullam simultatis; Ser. Sulpicius accusat,  
 none of-hatred; Ser. Sulpicius (the younger) accuses (him),  
 sodalis filii, cujus ingenio  
 (and who is) the companion 'of (his) [Murena's] son, 'by whose 'talents  
 omnes necessarii paterni debebant esse  
 all the friends (of his) father ought to-be (made;  
 munitiores; M. Cato accusat, qui quanquam  
 more-secure; M. Cato accuses, (him), who though  
 unquam fuit, nulla re; alienus a Murenâ,  
 'he never 'was, in-any thing, estranged from Murena,  
 tamen natus erat nobis, in hac civitate, eâ  
 yet he-was-born among-us, in this city, under-such  
 conditione, ut ejus opes et ingenium deberent  
 circumstances, that his assistance and talents ought  
 esse præsidio multis, etiam alienissimis,  
 to-be a protection to-many, even to-the-greatest-strangers, (and)  
 vix exitio cuiquam inimico. Igitur  
 scarcely the ruin (of) any (personal) enemy. 'I-will therefore  
 primum respondebo Postumio, qui, nescio quo pacto  
 first 'reply to-Postumius, who, I-know-not why  
 videtur mihi, candidatus prætorius  
 seems to-me, (being as he is) a candidate (for the) prætorship  
 in consularem, quasi desultorius  
 (to run) against the consular (competitor), like-as-if a-vaulter-on-horses  
 incurrere in quadrigarum curiculam. Si cujus  
 were-to-jump into a-four-horse chariot. If his

competitores deliquerunt nihil, concessit eorum  
 competitors had-been-wanting in-nothing, he-yielded to-their  
 dignitati, cum destitit petere; autem  
 worth, when he-desisted from-seeking (the prætorship); but  
 sin aliquis eorum largitus est, amicus  
 if any-one of-them had-been-guilty-of-bribery, a friend  
 expetendus est, qui potius persequatur alienam  
 is-to-be-sought, who 'would rather 'prosecute another's  
 injuriam, quam suam. \* \* \*  
 injury, than his-own. \* \* \*

28. Nunc venio ad M. Catonem, quod est  
 'I now 'come to M. Cato, (and) this is  
 firmamentum ac robur totius accusationis, qui  
 the support and strength of-the-whole accusation, who  
 tamen est ita gravis et vehemens accusator, ut  
 however is so severe and vehement an accuser, that  
 pertimescam multo magis ejus auctoritatem  
 I-fear much more his authority (and weight  
 quam criminationem. In quo  
 of character), than (his) accusation. As-respects this  
 accusatore, judices, ego primum deprecabor  
 accuser, O judges, I 'shall in-the-first-place 'earnestly-entreat  
 illud, illius dignitas ne quid  
 (of you) this, (that) his [Cato's] dignity 'may not (be of) any  
 noceat L. Murenæ, ne quid expectatio  
 'injury to-L. Murena, nor any (his) expectation  
 tribunatûs, ne quid splendor et gravitas  
 of-the-tribuneship, nor any (his) splendour and solidity-of-character  
 totius vitæ; denique ea bona  
 'of (his) 'whole life; in-fine (that) those qualities (and ad-  
 vantages) of-M. Cato, which he has-obtained, that  
 posset prodesse multis, ne obsint huic  
 he-might be-useful to-many, 'may not 'be-an-injury to-him  
 soli. L. Africanus fuerat bis consul, et deleverat  
 alone. L. Africanus had-been twice consul, and had-destroyed  
 duos terrores hujus imperii Carthaginem que  
 the two (great) terrors of-this empire Carthage and



Naumantiam, cum accusavit L. Cottam. Erat in  
 Numantia, when he-accused L. Cotta. There-was in  
 eo summa eloquentia, summa fides, summa  
 him the most-perfect eloquence, the greatest good-faith, the greatest  
 integritas, auctoritas tanta quanta Romani  
 integrity, (his) authority (was) as-great as-that of-the-Roman  
 populi, in imperio ipso, quod tenebatur  
 people, in the empire itself, which was-defended (and preserved)  
 illius operâ. Sæpe audiui majores natu  
 'ly his 'exertion. 'I-have often 'heard old-men  
 dicere hoc, hanc eximiam dignitatem  
 say this, (that) this very-great dignity (and authority)  
 accusatoris plurimum profuisse L. Cottæ.  
 of-the-accuser 'was (of) very-great 'advantage to-L. Cotta.  
 Sapientissimi homines, qui tum judicabant illam  
 The very-wise men, who then judged this  
 rem, noluerunt quemquam ita cadere in  
 cause, did-not-wish (that) any-one 'should so lose-his-cause in  
 judicio, ut videretur abjectus nimis  
 court, that it-might-seem he-was-borne-down by-the-too-great  
 viribus adversarii. Quid? Non ne Romanus  
 power 'of (his) 'adversary. What-then? 'Did not the Roman  
 populus (nam traditum est memoriæ) eripuit  
 people (for it-is-preserved-in (our) memory) 'deliver  
 Ser. Galbam tuo proavo, M. Catoni, fortissimo  
 Ser. Galba from-your great-grandfather, M. Cato, a very-brave  
 atque florentissimo viro, incumbenti ad ejus  
 and very-distinguished man, (who was) bent on his  
 perniciem. Semper in hac civitate, et universus  
 destruction. Always in this city, both the entire  
 populus, et sapientes judices, ac prospicientes in  
 people, and wise judges, and looking-for into  
 posterum, resiterunt nimis magnis opibus accu-  
 the future, have-resisted the too great power of-ac-  
 torum. Nolo accusator afferat potentiam  
 eusers. I-do-not-wish (that) an accuser should-bring power  
 in judicium, non aliquam majorem vim,  
 in the trial, nor any greater force (than common),

non excellentem auctoritatem, non nimiam  
 nor excelling authority (and character), nor too-great  
 gratiam. Omnia hæc valeant ad salutem  
 influence. All these are-of-avail (and to be used) for the safety  
 innocentium, ad opem impotentium, ad auxilium  
 of-the-innocent, for the assistance of-the-weak, for the aid  
 calamitosorum: vero in periculo, et in pernici-  
 of-the-unfortunate: but in danger, and in the ruin  
 civium, repudientur. Nam si quis forte  
 of citizens, they-are-to-be-rejected. For if any-one by-chance  
 dicet hoc, Catonem non fuisse descensurum  
 should-say this, (that) Cato 'would not have descended  
 ad accusandum, nisi prius  
 to accuse, unless 'he-had previously (examined into, and)  
 judicasset de causâ; instituet,  
 'formed-a-judgment (and opinion) concerning the cause; it-will-establish  
 judices, iniquam legem, et miseram conditionem  
 C judges, an unjust law, and a miserable condition  
 periculis hominum, si existimabit, judicium  
 for-the-dangers of-men, if it-be-held, (that) the judgment  
 accusatoris in reum oportere valere  
 of-the-accuser against the defendant ought to-have-force (against  
 him) like some legal-precedent.

### 29. Ego, Cato, audeo non, propter singulare

I, O Cato, dare not, on-account-of the singular (great)

judicium mei animi de tuâ virtute, vituperare  
 opinion (formed in) my mind of your virtue, censure  
 tuum consilium; forsitan possim, in  
 'ur determination (in this case); perhaps I-may-be-able, in  
 nonnullâ re conformare et leviter emendare.  
 some things to-mould and slightly to-amend (it).

“Non peccas multa,” inquit ille senior magister  
 “You-do not 'offend much,” said that aged instructor

fortissimo viro; “sed, si peccas possum regere  
 to-a-very-brave man; “but, if you-do-offend I-can rule  
 te.”

At ego verissime dixerim,  
 you (and set you right).” But I 'may most-truly 'say, (that)

te peccare nihil, neque in ullâ re esse te  
 you offend (in) nothing, nor (that) in any thing are you  
 hujusmodi, ut videare potius corrigendus,  
 of-that-nature, that you-may-seem rather (to require) to-be-corrected.

quàm leviter inflectendus. Enim natura ipsa  
 than 'to-be gently 'put-right. For nature herself

finxit te ad honestatem, gravitatem, temperantiam,  
 formed you for honesty, gravity, temperance,

magnitudinem animi, justitiam, denique ad omnes  
 greatness of-mind, justice, (and) in-fine for all

virtutes, magnum et excelsum  
 (those) virtues, (that constitute) a great and distinguished

hominem. Istuc accessit doctrina  
 man. To-this acceded a system-of-doctrines (and precepts)

non moderata, nec mitis, sed, ut videtur mihi  
 not moderate, nor mild, but, as it-seems to-me

paullo asperior, et durior, quàm aut veritas aut  
 somewhat harsher, and more-severe, than either truth or

natura patiatur. Et quoniam hæc oratio non  
 nature may-allow. And because this speech 'is not

habenda est nobis, aut cum imperitâ multitudine,  
 'to-be-delivered (by) us, either before an ignorant multitude,

aut in aliquo conventu agrestium, disputabo paullo  
 or in some assemblage of-rustics, I-will-discourse somewhat

audacius de studiis humanitatis, quæ sunt  
 more-boldly concerning the studies of-polite-literature, which are

nota et jucunda et mihi et vobis. Scitote,  
 known and agreeable both to-me and you. Know (then),

judices, hæc divina et egregia bona, quæ  
 O judges, (that) those divine and admirable qualities, which

videmus, in M. Catone, esse ipsius propria.  
 we-see, in M. Cato, are his peculiar-property.

Quæ nonnunquam requiremus, omnia ea sunt  
 What 'we sometimes 'reprehend, all such are

non a naturâ, sed a magistro.  
 (derived) not from nature, but from (the instruction of) a master.

Enim fuit quidam vir summo ingenio,  
 For there-was a certain man (of) the greatest talents, (named)

Zeno, æmuli ejus inventorum  
Zeno, the admirers (and followers) of-whose discoveries (and doctrines)  
nominantur Stoici. Hujus sententiæ et præcepta  
are called Stoics. His opinions and precepts  
sunt ejusmodi: sapientem nunquam moveri  
are of-this-sort: (that) the-wise-man 'is never 'moved  
gratiâ; nunquam ignoscere delicto cujusquam;  
by-favours; (that) 'he never 'forgives the-crime of-any-one;  
neminem esse misericordem, nisi stultum et  
(that) no one is merciful, unless a fool and  
levem; non esse viri neque  
a trifier; (that) 'it-does not 'belong-(to)-a-man (to allow himself) either  
exorari, neque placari; sapientes solos  
to-be-intreated, or to-be-propitiated; (that) the wise only  
esse formosos, si sint distortissimi;  
are beautiful, though they-may-be the-most-distorted (in person);  
si mendicissimi, divites;  
(that) if (they are) the poorest-beggars, (yet they are) rich; (that)  
si serviant servitutem, reges; autem  
if they are in slavery, (yet they are) kings; but  
dicunt, nos, qui sumus non sapientes, esse  
they-say, (that) we, who are not wise, are  
fugitivos, exsules, hostes, denique insanos;  
fugitives, exiles, enemies, in-fine mad-men; (they say that)  
omnia peccata esse paria; omne delictum esse  
all sins are equal; (that) every offence is  
nefarium scelus; nec eum delinquere  
a nefarious crime; nor (that) he 'does (not) 'offend  
minus, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum fuerit  
less, who (killed) a cock, when there was  
non opus, quàm eum, qui suffocavit patrem;  
no necessity, than he, who suffocated (his) father; (that)  
sapientem opinari nihil, pœnitere  
the-wise-man believes nothing (till fully convinced), (that) he-repents  
nullius rei, falli in nullâ re, nunquam  
of no thing, (that) he-is-deceived in no thing, (that) he never  
mutare sententiam.  
changes (his) opinion.



30. Ingeniosissimus homo, M. Cato, arripuit hæc,  
 The most-talented man, M. Cato, adopted these  
 inductus eruditissimis  
 (opinions and doctrines of Zeno), induced-thereto by-the-most-learned  
 auctoribus; neque causâ disputandi,  
 writers; (and this) not for-the-purpose of-disputing (about them)  
 ut magna pars, sed vivendi ita.  
 as the great part (of men do), but of-living as (they prescribe).

Publicani petunt aliquid? "Cave  
 'Do the farmers-of-the-revenues 'petition-for any-thing? "Take-care  
 gratia habeat quidquam momenti."  
 (lest) influence have any-thing of-weight (with you)."

Aliqui miseri et calamitosi veniunt  
 'Do some miserable and unfortunate (persons) 'come (to you)  
 supplices? "Fueris sceleratus et nefarius,  
 as suppliants? "You-will-be a wicked and criminal (man),  
 si feceris quidquam, adductus misericordiâ."  
 if you-do any-thing, induced by-mercy." 'Does

Aliquis fatetur se pecasse, et petit veniam  
 any-one confess (that) he has-done-wrong, and asks-for pardon  
 ejus delicti? "Ignoscere facinus est nefarium."  
 {for} his offence? "To-pardon crime is wicked."

At delictum est leve. "Omnia peccata sunt paria."  
 But the fault is trifling. "All offences are equal."

Dixisti quidpiam? "Est fixum et statutum."  
 Have-you-said any-thing? "It is fixed and determined."

Non ductus esre, sed opinione.  
 'You-were not induced by-the-thing (itself), but by-supposition.

"Sapiens opinatur nihil." Errasti in aliquâ  
 "A wise-man supposes nothing." You-may-have-erred in some

re. Putat maledici.  
 thing. He-considers (himself) to-be-calumniated (by this remark).

Illa sunt nobis, ex hac disciplinâ. "Dixi  
 Those are (the results) for-us, from this doctrine. "I-said

in senatu, me delaturum nomen consularis  
 in the senate, (that) I would-announce the name of-a-consular  
 candidati." Dixisti iratus.  
 candidate (for impeachment)." (But) you-said (it when) angry.

"Nunquam, inquit, sapiens irascitur." At  
 "Never, says-he, 'does a wise-man 'get-angry." But

causâ temporis,  
 (it may have been said) by-reason (of some peculiar) circumstance,

inquit, "est improbi hominis fallere  
 he-replies, "it-is (the part) of-a-dishonest man to-deceive

mendacio; est turpe mutare sententiam;  
 by-a-falsehood; it-is shameful to-change (one's) opinion; (to allow

exorari, scelus; misereri,  
 cr's self) to-be-entreated, is a crime; (and) to-pity, (is)

flagitium." Autem illi nostri (enim  
 infamy." But those our (masters and teachers) (for

fatebor, Cato, me quoque in adolescentiâ,  
 I-will-confess, O Cato, (that) I also in (my) youth,

diffisum meo ingenio, quæsisse adjumenta  
 diffident (of) my-own talents, sought the assistance

doctrinæ, illi nostri, inquam,  
 of-the-doctrine (of philosophers), those our (teachers), I-say,

a Platone et  
 (who derived their doctrine, and principles) from Plato and

Aristotele, moderati et temperati  
 Aristotle, (and who were) moderate and temperate

homines, aiunt, gratiam aliquando valere  
 men, say, (that) favour 'does sometimes 'have-an-influence

apud sapientem; boni viri  
 with a-wise-man; (that it is the part) of-a-good man

misereri, esse distincta genera  
 to-pity, (that) there-are distinct kinds (and degrees)

delictorum, et dispares poenas; esse  
 of-crimes, and different (grades of) punishments; (that) there-is

locum ignoscendi apud constantem  
 a place for-forgiveness (even) with a firm-and-determined

hominem; sapientem ipsum, sæpe opinari  
 man; (that) the-wise-man himself, often forms-an-opinion (about)

aliquid, quod nesciat; nonnunquam  
 something, that he-does-not-know (for certain); (that) 'he sometimes

irasci; eundem exorari et placari;  
 gets-angry; (that) he the-same may-be-entreated and propitiated

quod interdum dixerit, si sit  
 that-which 'he-may-have occasionally 'said, if it-should-be  
 rectius ita, mutare; aliquando decedere  
 more-proper so, he-changes; 'he sometimes 'recedes  
 de sententiâ; omnes virtutes moderatas esse  
 from (his) opinion; (that) all virtues are-to-be-regulated  
 quadam mediocritate.  
 by a certain (degree of) moderation.

31. Si, Cato, cum istâ naturâ,  
 If, O Cato, with this (good) natural-disposition, (which  
 qua fortuna detulisset te ad hos  
 you possess,) any (good) fortune had-brought you to these  
 magistros, tu non quidem esses melior vir,  
 instructors, you 'would not indeed 'have-been a better man,  
 nec fortior, nec temperantior, nec justior (neque  
 nor more-brave, nor more-temperate, nor more-just (nor  
 enim potes esse) sed paullo propensior ad lenitatem.  
 indeed can-you be) but a little more-inclined to lenity.

Non accusares adductus nullis inimiciis,  
 'You-would not 'accuse (when) led-thereto by-no animosities,  
 lacessitus nullâ injuriâ, pudentissimum  
 (or) provoked by-no injury, a most-modest (and worthy)  
 hominem, præditum summâ dignitate atque  
 man, endowed with-the-highest dignity-of-rank and  
 honestate; putares cum fortuna posuisset te  
 integrity; you-might-think when fortune had-placed you  
 atque L. Murenâ in custodiâ ejusdem anni,  
 and L. Murena in the guardianship of-the-same year,  
 te conjunctum esse cum hoc vinculo  
 (that) you were-united with him 'by (the political) 'ties  
 reipublicæ; quod dixisti atrociter in senatu,  
 of-the-republic; that-which you-said so-severely in the senate,  
 aut non dixisses, aut seposuisses  
 'you-would either not 'have-said, or would-have-put-it-aside,  
 aut interpretarere in  
 (and not applied it to him), or would-have-explained (it) in  
 mitiorem partem. Ac te ipsum (quantum ego  
 a milder manner. And (that) you yourself (as-much-as I

opinione auguror) nunc et concitatum  
 in (my) opinion (may) predict) now both excited  
 quodam impetu animi, et elatum vi naturæ  
 by-a-certain impulse of-the-mind, and elated by-the-force of-nature  
 atque ingenii, et flagrantem recentibus studiis  
 and of-genius, and inflamed by-the-recent studies  
 praeceptorum usus jam flectet,  
 of-the-precepts (of the Stoics), experience 'will at-some-time 'bend,  
 dies leniet, ætas mitigabit. Etenim isti ipsi,  
 time soften, (and) age render-milder. For these same,  
 vestri praeceptores et magistri virtutis, videntur  
 your preceptors and instructors (in) virtue, seem  
 mihi protulisse fines officiorum, paullo longius,  
 to-me to-have-carried the limits of-duty, a little farther,  
 quàm natura vellet; ut cum, animâ, contendissimus  
 than nature requires; so-that when, in-mind, we-had-striven  
 ad ultimum, tamen consisteremus  
 (to reach) to the ultimate (limits), yet we-should-stop-short  
 ibi, ubi oportet. "Ignoveris nihil."  
 there, where it-is-proper (to do so). "Pardon nothing" (you say).  
 Immo aliquid, non omnia.  
 Indeed (truly, something (may be pardoned, but) not all.  
 "Feceris nihil causâ gratiæ." Immo resistito  
 "Do nothing by-reason of-favour." Yes-indeed resist  
 gratiæ cum officium et fides postulabit. "Sis  
 favour, (but only) when duty and good-faith will-require-it. "Be  
 ne commotus misericordiâ." Etiam, in dissolvenda  
 not moved by-pity." Certainly, in relaxing  
 severitate; sed tamen est aliqua laus  
 (proper) severity; but yet there-is some praise (for)  
 humanitatis. Permaneto in sententiâ. Vero,  
 humanity. Abide in (your) opinion. True,  
 nisi alia melior vicerit sententiam.  
 unless another better (opinion) should-prevail-over (your) opinion  
 Ille Scipio fuit hujusmodi, quem  
 The (great) Scipio was (a man) of-this-kind, (to) whom 'it-caused  
 non pœnitebat facere idem, quod tu; habere  
 'regret to-do the same, that you (do); (and) to-have



eruditissimum, et pæne divinum hominem domi;  
 a most-learned, and nearly divine man 'in (his) 'house;

cujus oratione et præceptis, quanquam erant  
 'by whose 'discourse and precepts, although they were

ista eadem, quæ delectant te, tamen non  
 the very same, which (so) delight you, yet 'he was not

factus est asperior, sed (ut accepi a senibus),  
 'made more-austere, but (as I-have-heard from old-men),

lenissimus. Quis vero comior,  
 most-mild. Who indeed (was) more-civil-and-obliging, (than)

C. Lælio? quis jucundior ex isto  
 C. Lælius? who more-agreeable, (than he, though formed) by these

eodem studio? quis gravior sapientior  
 same studies (that you are)? who more-grave (and) wise

illo? Possum dicere hæc eadem de  
 (than) he? I-can say these same (things) concerning

L. Philo, de C. Gallo; sed deducam te  
 L. Philus, (and) concerning C. Gallus; but I-will-conduct you

jam tuam domum. Ne existimas quemquam fuisse  
 now to-your-own home. Do-you-think any-one was

commodiorem, comiorem, moderatiorem ad omnem  
 milder, more-obliging, more-moderate as-respects all

rationem humanitatis, Catone tuo pro-  
 the relations of-humanity (and-life), (than) Cato your great-

avo. Cum vere que graviter diceres de  
 grandfather. When 'you truly and gravely 'spoke of

præstanti virtute cujus, dixisti te habere  
 of-the-eminent virtue of-this (man), you-said (that) you had

domesticum exemplum ad imitandum. Illud quidem  
 a domestic example to imitate. That indeed

est exemplum propositum tibi domi; sed  
 is an example offered to-you 'in (your own) 'family; but

tamen similitudo illius naturæ potuit  
 however the resemblance of-his nature (and endowments) could

magis pervenire ad te, qui ortus es ab illo,  
 more-easily arrive to you, who are-descended from him.

quam ad unumquemque nostrum; vero illud  
 than to any one of-us; but that

**exemplar** tam **propositum** mihi **ad imitandum**,  
 example 'is as-much 'offered to-me for imitation,  
**quàm tibi.** Sed, si **adperseris** **illius comitatem**  
 as to-you. But, if you-would-have-mingled his obliging-civility  
**et facilitatem**, tuæ **gravitati** que **severitati**, ista  
 and affability, (with) your gravity and severity, those  
**quidem** non **erunt meliora**, quæ **nunc**  
 (things) indeed 'will not 'be better, which now  
**sunt optima**, sed **certe** **jucundius**  
 are excellent, but certainly (will become) more-agreeable (when)  
**condita.**  
 seasoned.

32. **Quare, ut revertar ad id, quod institui**,  
 Wherefore, that I-may-revert to that, which I-had-proposed,  
**tolle** mihi **nomen Catonis** e **causâ**; remove  
 take-away for-me the name of-Cato from the cause; remove  
**ac prætermitte** **auctoritatem**, quæ in **judiciis**  
 and make-no-mention-of authority, which in trials  
**debet, aut valere nihil, aut valere ad salutem**;  
 ought, either to-avail nothing, or (ought) to-avail for the safety  
**congregedere cum me criminibus ipsis.**  
 (of the accused); attack with me the crimes themselves  
**Quid** **accusas**, **Cato?**  
 (that he is charged with). What do-you-accuse-him-of, O Cato?  
**quid** **affers in judicium?** **quid** **arguis?** **Accusas**  
 what do-you-bring to trial? what do-you-prove? Do-you-accuse  
**ambitum?** **Non defendo.** **Reprehendis**  
 (him of) bribery? 'I-do not 'defend (bribery). You-reprehend  
**me, quod defendam idem, quod punierim**  
 me, that I-defend the same, which I-would-have-punished  
**lege.** **Punivi ambitum, non innocentiam.**  
 by-a-law (of my proposing). I-punished bribery, not innocence.  
**Vero ambitum ipsum, accusabo vel cum te, si**  
 But bribery itself, I-will-accuse even with yourself, if  
**voles.** **Dixisti** **senatusconsultum fac-**  
 you-desire (it). You-have-said (that) a decree-of-the-senate was-  
**tum esse, me referente,** "si **corrupti**  
 made, I proposing-it, (as thus) "if (persons) corrupted

mercede                      issent                      obviam candidatis, si  
by-recompense [bribery] should-go-out      to-meet      the candidates, if

conducti      sectarentur,                      si locus  
hired-persons attend-and-follow (them),      if a place (were given free)

vulgo                      tributim                      gladiatoribus, et  
to-the-common-people      by-tribes (in shows of)      the gladiators, and

item, si prandia data essent      vulgo,  
also, if dinners      were-given to-the-common-people, (this would

videri factum contra Calpurniam legem."      Ergo  
all) seem      done      against      the Calpurnian law."      Therefore

senatus ita judicat, hæc      videri      facta  
the senate so decided, (that) these (things) seemed to-have-been-done

contra legem, si facta sint; decernit, quod est  
against the law, if they-were-done; it-decreed, what there-is

nihil opus, dum morem gerit      candidatis.  
no occasion-for, while it-complied-with-the-wishes (of the) candidates.

Nam factum sit, nec ne, vehementer quæritur.  
For (if) done,      or not, 'is vehemently 'questioned.

Si factum sit, quin sit contra legem, nemo potest  
If it-is-done, but-that it-is contrary to-the-law, no-one can

dubitare. Est igitur ridiculum, relinquere id  
doubt.      It-is therefore ridiculous, to-leave that

incertum, quod est dubium; quod potest esse  
uncertain, which is doubtful; that-which can be

dubium nemini, id judicare.      Atqui  
a doubt to-no-one, that determine (and decide on). But-now

id      decernitur, omnibus candidatis postulanti-  
that (decree) was-passed,      all the candidates asking-for-it:

ut      ex      senatusconsulto,      possit      neque  
so-that from      the-decree-of-the-senate,      it-can      neither

intelligi      cujus                      intersit,                      neque  
be-understood 'for whose      'advantage, or interest it-might-be,      nor

contra quem sit.      Quare doce illa  
against whom it-might-be.      Therefore show (that) that

commissa esse a L. Murenâ;      tum egomet  
was-done by L. Murena;      then I-myself

concedam tibi      commissa esse contra legem.  
will-concede to-you (that)      it-was-done      contrary to-law.

33. "Multi prodierunt obviam decedenti de

"Many went-out to-meet-him returning from (his)  
provincia, petenti consulatum." Solet fieri.  
province, seeking the consulship." It-is-the-custom to-do-so.

Autem eccui non proditur revertenti?  
But to-whom 'do (persons) not 'go-out-to-meet returning

Quæ multitudo ista fuit!" Primùm,  
(from abroad)? What a multitude this was!" In-the-first-place,

si possim non reddere rationem istam tibi; quid  
if I-can not explain this to-you; what

habet admirationis, multos prodisse obviam  
is-there wonderful, (that) many (persons) went-out to-meet

tali viro advenienti, consulari candidato? Quod  
such a man coming, (as) a consular candidate? Which

nisi factum esset, videretur magis mirandum.  
unless it-had-been-done, would-seem the more to-be-wondered-at.

Quid? si etiam addam illud, quod non abhorret  
What-then? if 'I also 'add this, which is not contrary

a consuetudine, multos rogatos esse? num sit  
to custom, (that) many were-invited? whether is-it

aut crinosum, aut mirandum, in civitate quâ  
either criminal, or to-be-wondered-at, in a city (in) which

rogati soleamus venire deductum filios  
'we, (when) 'asked are-accustomed to come to-escort the sons

hominum infimorum, prope de  
of-men of-the-lower-order, (when candidates), nearly when

nocte, sæpe ex ultimâ  
yet night, [at early dawn of day], often from the extreme (part of)

urbe, in eâ homines esse non gravatos  
the city, (that) in that men are not burdened (when)

prodire tertiâ horâ in Campum  
they-go-forth at-the-third hour [nine o'clock] into the Campus

Martium, præsertim, rogatos nomine talis  
Martius, especially, (when) invited in-the-name of-such

viri? Quid? Si omnes societates  
a man (as Murena)? What? If all the societies (of knights)

venerunt, ex numero quorum, mult.  
had-come (to meet him), out-of the number of-whom, many



sedent hîc judices? quid? si multi homines nostri  
sit here (as) judges? what? if many men of-our

honestissimi ordinis? quid? si illa  
most-honourable order (had gone)? what? if that

officiossima tota natio candidatorum, quæ  
most officious (body) the whole nation of-candidates, which

patitur neminem introire in urbem non  
suffers no-one to-enter into the city not

honeste? denique si  
in-an-honourable-way, (had gone out to meet him)? in-fine if

accusator, noster Postumius ipse, venit obviam  
the accuser, our Postumius himself, had-come to-meet-him

cum bene magnâ catervâ suâ;  
with a very large crowd (of) his (followers and dependants);

quid habet ista multitudo admirationis?  
what has this multitude of admiration, (or what that may

Omitto clientes, vicinos  
excite our surprise)? I-omit (his) clients, (his) neighbours,

tribules, totum exercitum Luculli, qui venerat,  
those-of-his-tribe, the whole army of-Lucullus, which had-come,

per eos dies ad triumphum; dico hoc,  
on those days to the triumph; I-say this, (that)

gratuitam frequentiam in isto officio,  
a voluntary concourse (of friends) in such kind-offices, 'was

unquam defuisse, non modò dignitati ullius, sed  
never 'wanting, not only to-the-dignity of-any-one, but

ne quidem voluntati. "At multi sectabantur."  
not even to-his-wish. "But many followed-him."

Doce, mercede; concedam esse  
Show, (that it was) for-reward; (and) I-will-concede it-to-be

crimen. Hoc quidem remoto, quid  
a crime. This (reward) indeed being-removed, what

reprehendis?  
do-you-find-fault-with?

34. "Quid opus est, inquit, sectatoribus?"  
"What need is-there, says-he, (of) followers?"

Tu quæris id a me, quid opus sit eo,  
Do yo~ 'ask that of me, what need may-there-be in-that

quo semper usi sumus? Homines tenues  
 which 'we-have always 'practised? Men (of) humble-rank  
 habent unum locum aut promerendi beneficii  
 have the only opportunity 'of either 'conferring a favour  
 in nostrum ordinem aut referendi, in  
 on our order or of-returning (a benefit received), in  
 hanc operam, atque assestationem  
 this aid (give us), and (this) attendance (on us),  
 nostris petitionibus. Neque enim potest fieri,  
 in-our seeking-for-office. Neither indeed could (it) be-done,  
 neque postulandum est a nobis, aut ab Romanis  
 nor is-it-required from us, or from the Roman  
 equitibus, ut sectentur candidatos suos  
 knights, that they-should-accompany the candidates their  
 necessarios, totos dies; si nostra domus  
 particular-friends, for-whole days (together); if our house  
 celebratur a quibus, si interdum  
 is-frequented by them, [the senators and knights,] if sometimes  
 deducimur ad forum, si honestamur uno  
 we-are-escorted to the forum (by them), if we-are-honoured with  
 spatio basilicæ, videmur diligenter  
 a turn (round the portico) of-some-basilica, we-seem (to be) diligently  
 observari et coli; ista assiduitas  
 respected and honoured; this assiduity (in attendance)  
 est tenuiorum amicorum, et non  
 is (the part) 'of (our) 'humble friends, and (who are) not  
 occupatorum, quorum copia non solet  
 occupied (with business), whose assistance 'is not 'used  
 deesse bonis et beneficiis. Noli igitur, Cato,  
 to-be-wanting to-the-good and beneficent. Do-not therefore, O Cato,  
 eripere hunc fructum officii inferiori generi  
 take-away this benefit of-duty from-the-inferior class  
 hominum; sine eos, qui sperant omnia a nobis,  
 of-men; allow those-men, who hope all from us,  
 ipsos quoque habere aliquid, quod possint  
 themselves also to-have something, which they-can  
 tribuere nobis. Si erit nihil, præter ipsorum  
 give us. If there-were nothing, except their

suffragium, est tenue; si, ut suffragentur, valent  
vote, it-is trifling; if, that they-aid-us, they-can-avail

nihil gratiâ. Ipsi denique, ut solent  
nothing 'by (their) 'influence. They in-fine, as they-are-accustomed

loqui, possunt non dicere pro nobis, non  
to-say, can not plead for us, (can) not

spondere, non vocare suam domum;  
go-security (for us), (can) not invite (us) to-their houses

atque petunt omnia hæc a nobis, neque  
and they-ask all these (things) of us, nor

putant posse compensari, quæ consequuntur  
do-they-think (that) they-can compensate, that-which they-receive

a nobis ullâ aliâ re, nisi suâ operâ.  
from us in-any other way, unless 'by (this) 'their assistance

Itaque restiterunt et Fabiæ legi,  
(and attendance). Consequently they-resisted both the Fabian law,

quæ est de numero sectatorum,  
which is concerning the number of-followers, (that might be al-

lowed to attend a candidate,) and the decree-of-the-senate, which

factum est, L. Cæsare consule. Enim est nulla  
was-passed, L. Cæsar being-consul. For there-is no

pœno, quæ possit excludere observantiam  
punishment, which can exclude (or prevent) the regard

tenuiorum ab hoc vetere instituto  
of-the-lower-classes from this ancient custom 'of (showing their)

officiorum. "At spectacula data sunt  
'duty-and-zeal (for a candidate). "But shows were-given

vulgo tributim, et vocati ad  
to-the-common-people by tribes, and they-were-invited to

prandium." Etsi hoc, iudices, non omnino  
dinner." Although this, O judges, 'was not at-all

factum est a Murenâ, autem factum est ab ejus  
'done by Murena, but was-done by his

amicis more et modo; tamen admonitus  
friends in-accordance-with-custom and mode; however admonished

re ipsa, Servi, recordor quantum  
by-the-thing itself, O Servius, I-remember how-much-of [how many]

punctorum, hæc quæstiones, habitæ in senatu,  
 votes, these discussions, had in the senate,  
 detraxerint nobis. Enim quod tempus fuit, aut  
 may-have-taken from-us. For what time was-there, either  
 nostrâ memoriâ, aut nostrorum patrum, quo  
 in-our memory, or (that) of-our fathers, in which  
 hæc, sive est ambitio, sive liberalitas,  
 this (same thing), either be-it ambition, or liberality,  
 fuerit non, ut locus daretur, et in circo,  
 was not, that a place (or seats) might-be-given, both in the circus,  
 et in foro amicis et tribulibus?  
 and in the forum 'to (one's) 'friends and those-of-one's-own-tribe?  
 Primum hæc homines tenuiores qui nondum  
 First these men (of) the-lower-classes, who 'had not-yet  
 assequebantur a suis tribulibus vetere  
 'obtained from their tribe's-men in-accordance-with-old  
 instituto. \* \* \*  
 custom. \* \* \*

35. \* \* \* Præfectum fabrum  
 \* \* \* (That) the præfect, (or chief) of-the-artificers

semel dedisse locum suis  
 (or military workmen) once gave a place (or seats) to-his  
 tribulibus: quid statuent in primarios viros,  
 tribe's-men: what will-they-decide as-respects eminent men,  
 qui compararunt totas tabernas in circo, causâ  
 who have-prepared entire booths in the circus, for-the-use

tribulium? Item omnia hæc, Servi,  
 of (their) tribe's-men? Also all these, O Servius, (accusa-

crimen sectatorum, spectaculorum, prandiorum,  
 tions of) the crime of-followers, of-shows, of-dinners,

conjecta sunt a multitudine in tuam nimiam  
 are-attributed by the multitude to your too-great

diligentiam; in quibus tamen Murena  
 diligence (and scrupulousness); in which however Murena

defenditur ab auctoritate senatûs. Enim quid?  
 is-defended by the authority of-the-senate. For what?

Num senatus putat crimen prodire obviam?

'Does then the senate 'think (it) a crime to-go-out to-meet (any one)?



“Non; sed mercede.” Convince. Num  
 “No; but (if) for-a-reward, (it does).” Prove-it. Does

multos sectari? “Non;  
 (the senate think it a crime, that) many follow? “No;

sed conductos.” Doce.  
 but (it does, if they) are-hired.” Show, (that Murena has done

Num dare locum ad  
 this). Does (the senate condemn) giving a place (or seats) to

spectandum? aut invitare ad prandium?  
 see (the shows)? or to-invite to dinner?

Minime; “sed vulgo passim.” Quid  
 Not-in-the-least; “but to-the-multitude without-distinction.” What

est vulgo? “Universos.” Non  
 is to-the-multitude? “The entire-collection (of citizens).” Not

igitur, si L. Natta, adolescens summo loco,  
 therefore, if L. Natta, a young-man (of) the highest rank,

qui, et videmus quo animo jam sit,  
 who, both we-see (of) what (disposition of) mind ‘he now ‘may-be,

et qualis vir sit futurus, voluit esse  
 and what (kind of) man he-may-be hereafter, wished to-be

gratiosus, in centuriis equitum, et ad hoc  
 in-favour, with the centuries of-the-knights, both for this

officium necessitudinis, et ad tempus  
 duty of-friendship, (and relationship,) and for the time

reliquum id erit fraudi, aut, crimini  
 to-come, ‘will this ‘be a crime, or, (cause of) accusation

ejus vitrico; nec, si Vestalis virgo, propinqua  
 ‘to his step-father; nor, if a Vestal virgin, a relation

et necessaria hujus concessit suum locum  
 and friend of-this (Murena) gave-up her place

gladiatoribus huic, non illa et fecit pie,  
 in-the-gladiatorial-exhibitions to-him, ‘did not ‘she then ‘act kindly,

et hic remotus est a culpâ. Omnia hæc  
 and he [Murena] is-removed from censure. All these-things

sunt officia necessariorum, commoda  
 are the duties of-friends, the convenience-and-gratification

tenuiorum, munia candidatorum.  
 of-the-lower-classes, (and) the privileges of-candidates.

At enim Cato agit cum me austere  
 But indeed Cato acts (and argues) with me austere-ly,  
 et Stoice. Negat esse verum, allici  
 and like-a-Stoic He-denies (that) it-is proper, to-conciliate  
 benevolentiam cibo; negat iudicium hominum  
 good-will by-food; he-denies (that) the judgment of-men  
 oportere corrumpi voluptatibus in  
 ought 'to-be (influenced, or) 'corrupted by-pleasures in  
 mandandis magistratibus. Ergo,  
 confiding (any of) the magistracies (to candidates). Therefore,  
 causâ petitionis, si quis vocat ad cœnam,  
 in-the-case of-seeking-office, if any-one invites to supper,  
 condemnetur. "Quippe," inquit, "tu  
 he-may-be-condemned. "For-now-indeed," says-he, 'do "you  
 petas mihi summum imperium, tu  
 'seek (I would ask) the highest command, (do) you (seek)  
 summam auctoritatem, tu gubernacula  
 the greatest authority, (do) you (seek) the helm  
 reipublicæ, fovendis sensibus hominum, et  
 of-the-republic, by-pampering the senses of-men, both  
 deleniendis animis, et adhibendis voluptatibus?  
 by-soothing the minds, and by-administering pleasures?  
 Utrum," inquit, "petebas lenocinium a  
 Whether," says-he, "did-you-ask the-station-of-a-pimp from  
 grege delicatæ juventutis, an imperium orbis terrarum  
 a herd of-effeminate young-men, or the command of-the-world  
 a Romano populo?" Horribilis oratio sed  
 from the Roman people?" A horrid speech but (our)  
 usus, vita, mores, civitas ipsa  
 customs, (our modes of) life, (our) manners, the state itself  
 respuit eam. Tamen neque  
 rejects (and refutes) this. However neither 'did  
 Lacedæmonii, auctores istius vitæ atque  
 the Lacedæmonians, the authors of this (your mode) of-life and  
 orationis, qui accumbant quotidianis epulis in  
 of-speaking, who recline to (their) daily meals on  
 robore, neque verò Cretes, nemo quorum  
 hard-oak (benches), nor indeed the Cretans, no-one of-whom

unquam gustavit cubans, retinuerunt suas  
 ever tastes (any thing) reclining, preserve their  
 respublicas melius, quàm Romani homines qui  
 republics better, than the Roman people who  
 dispartunt tempora voluptatis que laboris :  
 set-apart times (for) pleasure and (times for) labour :  
 quorum alteri deleti sunt uno  
 of-these the-one [the Cretans] were-destroyed (as a nation) by-one  
 adventu nostri exercitûs ; alteri  
 invasion of-our army ; the other [the Lacedæmonians]  
 conservant suam disciplinam que leges, præsidio  
 preserve their discipline and laws, by-the-protection  
 nostri imperii.  
 of-our empire.

36. Quare, Cato, noli reprehendere nimium  
 Wherefore, O Cato, do-not reprehend 'with too  
 severâ oratione instituta majorum, quæ res  
 'severe a speech the customs 'of (our) 'ancestors, which the thing  
 ipsa, quæ diuturnitas  
 itself, (in the flourishing state of our affairs), which the long continuance  
 imperii comprobât. Fuit ex eodem  
 'of (our) 'empire has-shown-to-be-good. There-was of the same  
 studio, eruditus vir apud nostros  
 study, [school of the stoics], a learned man among our  
 patres, homo et honestus et nobilis, Q. Tubero.  
 fathers, a man both honest and noble, Q. Tubero  
 Is, cum Q. Maximus daret epulum  
 (by name). He, when Q. Maximus gave a solemn-feast  
 Romano populo nomine sui patris Africani,  
 to-the-Roman people in-memory 'of his 'uncle Africanus,  
 rogatus est a Maximo, ut sterneret triclinium,  
 was-requested by Maximus, that he-should-cover the couch,  
 cum Tubero esset filius  
 [prepare a banqueting place], as Tubero was the son  
 sororis ejusdem Africani. Atque ille  
 of-the-sister of-the-same Africanus. And he  
 eruditissimus homo, ac Stoicus, stravit  
 most-learned man, and a Stoic, covered (mean/

**Punicanos lectulos** **hœdinis pelliculis, et**  
 Carthaginian couches with 'little goats' 'skins, and

**exposuit vasa** **Samia; quasi vere mortuus**  
 set-out vessels (of) Samian-earthenware; as-if indeed the dead

**cynicus Diogenes honestaretur, et non mors**  
 cynic Diogenes were-honoured, and not the death

**divini hominis Africani; quem, cum Maximus**  
 'of (that) 'divine man Africanus; whom, when Maximus

**laudaret ejus supremo die** **egit**  
 praised on his last day [day of his death] he-gave

**gratias immortalibus diis, quòd ille vir**  
 thanks to-the-immortal gods, because that man [Africanus] 'was

**potissimum natus esset, in hac republica; enim**  
 more-especially 'born, in this republic; for

**fuisse necesse,** **imperium terrarum**  
 it-was a necessary (consequence, that) the empire of-the-world

**esse ibi, ubi ille esset.** **In**  
 must-be there, where he might-be (as a citizen). At

**celebrandâ morte hujus,** **Romanus**  
 the celebrating (of) the obsequies of-this man, (Africanus), the Roman

**populus tulit graviter hanc perversam sapientiam**  
 people 'were much 'displeased at-this perverse wisdom

**Tuberonis. Itaque integerrimus homo, et**  
 of Tubero. Therefore (he, Tubero,) a most-honest man, and

**optimus civis,** **cum esset nepos**  
 most-excellent citizen, (and) also-though-he-was the grandson

**L. Paulli, filius, ut dixi, sororis P. Africani,**  
 of-L. Paullus, the son, as I-said, of-the-sister of P. Africanus, (ye:)

**dejectus est** **præturâ his**  
 he-lost (his election, when a candidate for the) prætorship, by-these

**hœdinis pelliculis. Romanus populus odit**  
 'little goat 'skins. The Roman people hate

**privatam luxuriam, diligit publicam magnificentiam,**  
 private luxury, (and) love public magnificence,

**non amat profusas epulas, multò minus**  
 'they-do not 'love profuse banquets, much less

**sordes et inhumanitatem.** **Distinguit**  
 sordidness and meanness. 'They distinguish (between



rationem officiorum ac temporum, vicissitudinem  
the relations of-duties and of-occasions, the vicissitudes

laboris ac voluptatis. Nam quod ais mentes  
of-labour and of-pleasure. For that you-say the minds

hominum oportere allici nullâ re ad  
of-men ought to-be-induced by-no thing (else) in

mandandum magistratum, nisi dignitate;  
conferring magistracy, except by-dignity (and worth);

hoc tu ipse, in quo est summa dignitas,  
this you yourself, in whom there-is the greatest dignity (and worth),

non servas. Enim cur rogas quemquam, ut  
'do not 'observe. For why do-you-ask any-one, that

studeat tibi, ut adjuvet te? Tu  
he-should-take-care (of) your-interest, that he-should-help you? You

rogas me, ut præsis mihi, ut ego  
ask me, that you-may-be-placed-over me, that I

committam me tibi. Quid tandem? Oportet,  
may-commit myself to-you. What then? Is it-proper,

me rogari istuc abs te, an te  
(that) I be-asked this by-you, or (that) you (be asked it)

potius a me, ut suscipias laborem que  
rather by me, that you-should-undertake labour and

periculum pro meâ salute? Quid? quod habes  
perils for my safety? What? that you-have

nomenclatorem?

a nomenclator? [a slave, who accompanied his master, and whispered

In eo quidem fallis et  
the names of the citizens to him.] In this indeed you-mislead and

decipis. Nam si est honestum  
deceive. For if it-is an honourable (and praiseworthy thing),

tuos cives appellari nomine abs te,  
(that) your fellow-citizens should-be-addressed by-name by you,

est turpe eos esse notiores tuo servo,  
it-is shameful, (that) they should-be better-known to-your slave,

quàm tibi. Sin si etiam noris,  
than to-yourself. But if also you-might-have-known (them),

tamen appellandi sunt per  
yet (if through custom) 'they-are (only) 'to-be-addressed through

monitorem, cur petis  
 the suggestion of your) prompter, why do-you-ask (the name)  
 ante, quàm insusurravit? aut quid, cum  
 before, than he-has-whispered-it-to-you? or why, when  
 admoneris, tamen salutas ita, quasi noris  
 you-are-reminded, yet you-salute (them) so, as-if you-had-known  
 tute? quid posteaquam designatus es, salutas  
 (them) well? why after you-are-elected, do-you-salute  
 multò negligentius? Si dirigas omnia hæc  
 so-much more-negligently? If you-regulate all these (things)  
 ad rationem civitatis recta sunt, sin velis  
 according to-the-usages of-the-state they-are-right, but-if you-wish  
 perpendere ad præcepta disciplinæ  
 to-weigh (them) according-to the precepts 'of (your) discipline  
 reperiantur pravissima. Quare  
 (and sect) they-may-be-found (to be) very-bad. Wherefore  
 nec isti fructus ludorum gladiatorum conviviorum  
 neither these enjoyments of-games of-gladiators of-banquets  
 non eripiendi Romanæ plebi, omnia quæ  
 'are not 'to-be-taken from-the-Roman people, all which  
 nostri majores comparaverunt;  
 our ancestors prepared, (and instituted for their gratifi-  
 cation); nec est ista benignitas adimenda candidatis,  
 nor is this kindly-feeling to-be-taken-from the candidates,  
 quæ significat liberalitatem magis quàm largitionem.  
 which indicates liberality more than bribery.

37. At enim respublica adduxit te ad  
 But indeed (the interest of) the republic led you to

accusandum. Credo, Cato, te venisse isto  
 accuse. I-believe, O Cato, (that) you came with-this

animo et eâ opinione. Sed tu laberis  
 mind and with-this opinion. But you fall

imprudentiâ. Quod ego facio,  
 by-imprudence (you act imprudently, and err). That-which I do,

judices, facio cum gratiâ amicitiae atque dignitatis  
 O judges, I-do for the sake of-the-friendship and of-the-worth

L. Murenæ, tum clamo atque testor me facere  
 of-L. Murena, then I-proclaim and attest (that) I do-it

causâ pacis, otii, concordiae, libertatis,  
 for-the-cause of-peace, of-tranquillity, of-concord, of-liberty,  
 salutis, denique vitæ nostrum omnium. Audite,  
 of-safety, in-fine of-the-lives of-us all. Hear,  
 audite, judices, consulem, dicam nihil  
 hear, O judges, (your) consul, I-will-say nothing  
 arrogantius, dicam tantum cogitantem  
 arrogantly, 'I-will (only) 'say so-much (that I) thinking

de republica, totos dies atque noctes.  
 about the republic, entire days and nights, (may be allowed to

L. Catilina non despexit  
 say, with propriety and moderation). L. Catiline 'did not 'despise

atque contempsit rempublicam usque eo, ut  
 and contemn the republic so far, that

arbitraretur se oppressurum hanc civitatem,  
 he-thought (that) he could-reduce this city,

eâ copiâ, quam eduxit cum se. Contagio  
 with-that force, which he-led-out with him. The contagion

illius sceleris patet latius quàm quisquam putat;  
 of-that crime spreads more-widely than any-one supposes;

pertinet ad plures. Intus, intus, inquam  
 it-belonge to many. Within, within, I-say (that)

Trojanus equus est; a quo, me consule,  
 the Trojan horse is; by which, I being-consul, 'you-will

nunquam dormientes opprimemini. Quæris  
 never sleeping (be surprised and) 'be-oppressed. You-ask

a me quid ego metuam Catilinam. Nihil;  
 of me why I fear Catiline. (I fear) nothing (of him);

et curavi ne quis metueret;  
 and I-have-taken-care (that) no one might-fear (any thing);

sed illius copias, quas video hic, dico esse  
 but his forces, which I-see here, I-say are

metuendas; nec est nunc exercitus L. Catilinæ,  
 to-be-feared; nor is now the army of-L. Catiline,

tam timendus, quàm isti, qui dicuntur deseruisse  
 so-much to-be-feared, as these-here, who are-said to-have-deserted

illum exercitum. Enim non deseruerunt, sed  
 that army. For 'they-have not deserted, but



relicti ab illo in speculis atque insidiis, restiterunt  
 being-left by him as out-posts and ambuscades, remained  
 in capite atque in nostris cervicibus. Hi  
 against(our) heads and against our necks. These

volunt et integrum consulem, et bonum imperatorem,  
 wish both an honest consul, and good commander,

et naturâ et fortunâ conjunctum cum  
 (one, who is) both by-nature and by-fortune united with

salute reipublicæ, deturbari vestris sententiis,  
 the safety of-the-republic, to-be-overthrown by-your decision,

dejici de præsidio urbis, et de  
 (so as) to-be-removed from the protecting of-the-city, and from  
 custodiâ civitatis. Quorum ferrum et audaciam,  
 the guardianship of-the-state. Whose weapons and audacity,

ego, judices, rejeci in campo, debili-  
 I, O judges, have-repulsed in the Campus-Martius, I-have-intimi-

tavi in foro, sæpe etiam compressi  
 dated (them) in the forum, (and) 'have often also 'repressed

meæ domi; si vos tradideritis  
 (their attempts on me) in-my-own house; if you will-have-given-up

his alterum consulem consecuti erunt  
 to-them the one-of-the-two consuls they-will-have-obtained

plus multò vestris sententiis, quàm suis gladiis.  
 much more by-your votes, than by-their swords.

Magni interest, judices, esse duo  
 'It-is of-great 'consequence, O judges, (that) there-should-be two

consules in republica kalendis Januariis,  
 consuls in the republic on-the-kalends of-January [first of January],

id quod ego perfeci, multis repugnantibus.  
 that which I have-accomplished, many striving-against-it.

Nolite arbitrari mediocribus consiliis, aut usitatis  
 Do-not think (that) by-moderate counsels, or the usual

viis, aut \* \* \* Non improba lex, non perniciosa  
 ways, or \* \* \* No bad law, no pernicious

largitio, non aliquod malum aliquando auditum  
 bribery, not any evil at-any-time heard-of

quæritur reipublicæ. Consilia inita sunt  
 is-sought-for against-the-republic. Plans have-been-entered into



in hac civitate, judices, delendæ urbis.  
in this city, O judges, of-destroying the town.

trucidandorum civium, extinguendi Romani nominis.  
of-massacring the citizens, of-extinguishing the Roman name.

Atque hæc, cives, cives inquam, (si est fas  
And these-things, citizens, citizens I-say, (if it-is rig

eos appellari hoc nomine), et cogitant et  
(that) they be-called by-this name), both think and

cogitaverunt de suâ patriâ; ego quotidie occurro  
have-thought against their country; I daily counteract

consiliis horum. Debilito audaciam,  
the plans of-these-men. I-weaken (their) audacity, (and)

resisto sceleri. Sed moneo vos, judices;  
resist (their) wickedness. But I-admonish you, O judges;

meus consulatus est jam in exitu: nolite  
my consulship is now (nearly) in (its) termination: do-not

subtrahere mihi vicarium meæ dili-  
take-from me one-who-is-to-supply-my-place (in) my dili-

gentiæ; nolite eum adimere,  
gence, (and care for the republic); do-not 'take him 'away,

cui cupio tradere rempublicam incolumem,  
to-whom I-desire to-give-over the republic safe.

defendendam ab his tantis periculis.

to-be-defended from these so-great dangers.

38. Atque non videtis, judices, quid aliud

And 'do-you not 'see, O judges, what other evil

accedat ad hæc mala? Te, te, Cato, appello;  
accedes to these evils? You, you, O Cato, I-address;

nonne prospicis tempestatem tui anni?  
do-you not foresee the storm of-your-own year

jam enim hesternâ concione pernicio-  
(of tribuneship)? now indeed in-yesterday's assembly the pernicious

vox tribuni designati, tui collegæ, intonuit; contra  
voice of-a-tribune elect, your colleague, sounded-forth; against.

quem tua mens multùm, omnes  
whom your-own mind and foresight (provided) much, (also) 'did all

boni providerunt, qui vocaverunt te ad  
good-men 'provide-against, who requested you to

petitionem                      tribunatûs.                      Omnia, quæ  
be-a-candidate      (for)      the tribuneship.                      All,      which

agitata sunt                      per hoc  
have-been-agitated      (and plotted against the Republic)      for these (last)

triennium, jam scitis esse ab eo tempore,  
three-years,      as      you-know to-have-been      from that      time,

quo consilium initum a L. Catilinâ et Cn.  
in-which      the plot was-entered-into by      L. Catiline      and      Cn.

Pisone interficiendi senatûs, erumpunt in hos dies,  
Piso      of massacring      the senate,      break-out      in these days,

in hos menses, in hoc tempus. Qui locus est,  
in these months, in this time.      What place is-there,

judices, quod tempus, qui dies, quæ nox, cum ego  
O judges,      what time,      what day,      what night,      that      I

non eripiar atque evolem ex insidiis ac  
'am not      'snatched-from      and      escape      from the snares and

mucronibus istorum, non solum meo consilio,  
swords      of-these-men,      not      only by-my-own      counsel

sed etiam multò magis divino?  
(and precaution), but indeed much more-so by-divine (counsel

Neque isti volunt me interfici  
and providence)?      Nor      'do these-men      'wish      me      to-be-killed

meo nomine,                      sed demovere  
on-my-own      name, [on my own individual account,] but      to-remove

vigilantem consulem de præsidio reipublicæ;  
a vigilant      consul      from the guardianship      of-the-republic;

nec minus vellent, Cato, tollere te quoque,  
nor      'do-they the less      'wish,      O Cato,      to-remove you      also,

si possent, aliquâ ratione; id quòd, crede mihi,  
if they-could, by-any means;      that which, believe me,

et agunt et moliuntur. Vident,  
(they are) both attempting and endeavouring-to-effect).      They-see,

quantùm sit in te animi, quantùm ingenii,  
how-much there-is in you of-courage,      how-much      of-talent,

quantùm auctoritatis, quantùm præsidii  
how-much      of-weight-of-character,      how-much      of-protection (for)

reipublicæ; sed cum viderint tribunitiam vim  
the republic;      but when they-have-perceived the tribunitian power

spoliatum consulari auctoritate, et auxilio, tum  
deprived of-the-consular authority, and assistance, then

arbitrantur, se facilius oppressuros  
they-think, (that) they 'will the-more-easily 'oppress (and over-

te inermem et debilitatum. Nam non  
come) you defenceless and weakened. For 'they-do not

timent, ne consul sufficiatur.  
'fear, lest (another) consul should-be-substituted (in place of

Vident te fore in  
Murena, should he be condemned). They-see (that) you will-be in

potestate tuorum collegarum; sperant Silanum,  
the power of-your colleagues; they-hope (that) Silanus,

clarum virum, sine collegâ, te sine consule,  
an illustrious man, without a colleague, you without a consul,

republicam sine præsidio, posse objici sibi.  
the republic without a protection, may-be exposed to-them

In his tantis rebus, que in  
(in their attacks on it). In these such-great affairs, and in

tantis periculis est tuum, M. Cato, qui natus es  
such-great dangers it-is your part, O M. Cato, who are-born

non mihi, non tibi, sed patriæ, videre quid  
not for-me, not for-yourself, but 'for your 'country, to-see what

agatur retinere adiutorem, defensorem, socium  
may-be-done to-retain an assistant, defender, (and) associate

in republica, consulem, consulem non cupidum,  
in the republic, (as) consul, a consul not ambitious,

(quod hoc tempus maxime  
(or desirous of change), (which this (present) time greatly

postulat) constitutum fortunâ ad amplexandum  
requires) formed 'by (his) 'fortune to embrace

otitum; scientiâ ad gerendum  
(and enjoy) ease and leisure; with-the-knowledge to carry-on

bellum; animo et usu ad quod negotium  
war; of-mind and experience for any business

velis.

you-may-wish.

39. Quanquam, omnis potestas hujusce rei  
Although, all the power of-this affair

sita est in vobis, iudices; vos in hac causâ  
is-placed in you. O judges; you in this cause  
tenetis, vos gubernatis totam rempublicam. Si  
hold, you govern the whole republic. If

L. Catilina cum suo consilio nefariorum hominum,  
L. Catiline with his council of-infamous men.

quos eduxit cum se, posset judicare de eis  
whom he-brought-out with him, could judge concerning this  
re. condemnaret L. Murenam; si posset  
affair, he-would-condemn L. Murena; if he-could

interficere occideret. Eam rationes illas  
'put (him) 'to death. he-would-kill (him). For the plans of this-man  
petunt, ut respublica orbetur auxilio;  
require, that the republic should-be-deprived 'of (its proper) assistance;

ut copas imperatorum contra eum  
that the number-and-power of-the commanders opposed (w) his  
furorem minueret; ut major facultas daretur  
fury may-be-diminished; that greater power may-be-given

tribunis plebis, adversario depulso,  
to-the-tribunes of-the-people (his) opponent (Murena) being-repelled,

convulsæ seditionis ac discordiæ.  
for the purpose of-excitng sedition and discord.

Igitur honestissimi atque sapientissimi viri,  
Therefore the most-honourable and most-wise men,

delecti ex amplissimis ordinibus,  
selected from the highest orders. (of the state for judges in

ne judicabunt idem, quod ille  
this case,) 'will not judge the same, as that

importantissimus gladiator, hostis repubblicæ,  
most-dangerous gladiator (Catiline), the enemy of-the-republic,

judicaret? Credite mihi, iudices, in hac causâ,  
would-judge? Believe me, O judges, that in this case,

non solum feretis sententiam de  
'you not only pronounce judgment on (the safety)

L. Murenæ, etiam verum de vestrà salute.  
of-L. Murena, (but) also indeed on your-own safety.

Veniunt in extremum discrimen: est nihil jam.  
We have-come into extrem: danger; there-is nothing now.



unde nos reficiamus, aut ubi lapsi  
 whence we may-repair (our strength), or where fallen  
 resistamus. Non solùm auxilia, quæ habemus  
 we-may-resist. Not only the resources, which we-have  
 non minuenda, sed etiam nova, si possit  
 'are not 'to-be-diminished, but also new-ones, if it-can  
 fieri comparanda. Enim hostis est non apud  
 be-done are-to-bé-procured. For the enemy is not on  
 Anienem, quod, Punico bello visum est gravissi-  
 the Anio, which, in-the-Punio war appeared the most-grievous-  
 mum, sed in urbe, in foro (immortales dii!  
 thing, but in the city, in the forum (O immortal gods!  
 potest hoc dici sine gemitu;) etiam est  
 can this be-said without a sigh;) also there-is [are]  
 non-nemo hostis in illo sacrario reipublicæ,  
 some enemies in this sanctuary of-the-republic,  
 inquam non nemo in curiâ ipsâ. Dii  
 I-say (there are) some in the senate-house itself. 'May the gods  
 faxint, ut meus collega, fortissimus vir, armatus,  
 grant, that my colleague, a most-brave man, 'may, armed,  
 opprimat hoc nefarium latrocinium Catilinæ; ego  
 'suppress this nefarious armed-robbery of-Catiline; I  
 togatus, vobis que omnibus bonis adjutoribus,  
 a civilian, you and all good (men) being-assistants,  
 discutiam et comprimam consilio hoc periculum,  
 will-dispel and crush 'by (my) 'counsel this danger,  
 quod conceptum, respublica parturit. Sed  
 which conceived (in it), the republic is-about-to-bring-forth. But  
 quid tandem fiet, si hæc, elapsa de nostris  
 what 'will in-fine 'happen, if these-things, escaped from our  
 manibus, redundarint, in eum annum, qui  
 hands, should-make-their-appearance in that year, which  
 consequitur? Erit unus consul, et is non  
 follows (this)? There-will-be (only) one consul, and he not  
 occupatus in administrando bello, sed in  
 oc-upied in conducting warlike-affairs, but in  
 sufficiendo collega. Jam qui  
 procuring-the-election-of-a-colleague, (in the consulship). Now those-wh

impedituri sint hunc \* \* \* illa immanis pestis,  
will-hinder him \* \* \* that enormous pest,

importuna, prorumpet, quâ poterit; et jam  
dangerous, will-break-forth, where it-can; and already

ruinatur Romano populo; repente advolabit in  
it-is-threatening the Roman people; suddenly it-will-fly to

suburbanos agros; furor versabitur in castris, timor  
the suburban districts; fury will-prevail in the camp, fear

in curiâ, conjuratio in foro, exercitus in  
in the senate-house, conspiracy in the forum, an army in

Campo, vastitas in agris; autem in omni  
the Campus-Martius, devastation in the country; but in every

sede ac loco metuemus flammam que ferrum.  
habitation and place we-fear the fire and the sword.

Quæ jamdiu comparantur, omnia  
(These things), which 'are for-a-long-time 'prepared, all

ista eadem, si respublica ornata erit suis  
these same, if the republic should-be-provided 'with her (proper)

præsiidiis, facile comprimuntur; et consiliis  
'defences, 'will easily 'be-repressed; both by-the-counsels

magistratuum, et diligentiam privatorum.  
of-the-magistrates, and by-the-diligence of-private-persons.

40. Quæ, judices, cum sint ita, primum,  
Which-things, O judges, as they-are so, in-the-first-place,

causâ reipublicæ, qua nulla res debet esse  
for-the-sake of-the-republic, (than) which no thing ought to-be

potior cuiquam, moneo vos pro meâ summâ  
dearer to-any-one, I-admonish you on-account-of my very-great

diligentiâ in rempublicam et  
diligence (and zeal) in (the affairs of) the republic and (well)

cognita vobis, pro consulari auctoritate  
known to-you, on-account-of (my) consular authority

hortor, pro magnitudine periculi obtestor,  
I-exhort (you), on-account-of-the-greatness of-the-danger I-entreat

ut otio, ut paci, ut salutis, ut  
(you), that for-tranquillity, that for-peace, that 'for (your) 'safety, that

vestræ vitæ et, ceterorum civium, consulatis;  
for-your life and (that), of-the-rest of-the-citizens, you-would-consult,

deinde ego, adductus officio defen-  
 (and take measures); next I, induced by-the-duty of-a-de-  
 soris et amici, oro atque obsecro, iudices,  
 fender, and of-a-friend, do-pray and entreat, O judges,  
 vestram fidem, ut ne obruatis recentem  
 your good-faith, that 'you-do not 'overwhelm the recent  
 gratulationem miseri hominis, L. Murenæ, et  
 felicitations of-a-distressed man, L. Murena, and  
 confecti cum morbo corporis, tum dolore animi,  
 afflicted with disease of-body, as-well-as with-distress of-mind,  
 novâ lamentatione. Modò ornatus maximo  
 by-a-new (cause of) lamentation. Just honoured with-the-greatest  
 beneficio Romani populi, videbatur fortunatus,  
 favour of-the-Roman people, he-seemed-to-be fortunate,  
 quòd primus attulisset consulatum in  
 because 'he first 'had-brought (the honour of) the consulship into  
 veterem familiam, primus in antiquissimum  
 an old family, (and) first into a most-ancient  
 municipium; nunc idem sordidus  
 municipality; now the same-person (of) squalid-appearance, (on  
 squalore, confectus morbo, perditus  
 account of his), neglected-dress, afflicted with-sickness, spent  
 lacrymis ac moerore, est vester supplex, iudices,  
 with-tears and sorrow, is your suppliant, O judges,  
 obtestatur vestram fidem, implorat misericordiam,  
 he-invokes your good-faith, he-implores (your) compassion,  
 intuetur vestram potestatem, ac vestras opes.  
 he-earnestly-looks to-your power, and to-your might.  
 Nolite, per immortales deos, iudices, privare eum  
 Do-not, by the immortal gods, O judges, deprive him  
 hac re, qua putavit, se fore honesti-  
 of-that thing, by-which he-thought, (that) he would-become more-hon-  
 orem, etiam ceteris honestatibus ante  
 oured, (but) also of-other honours, (which he had) before  
 partis, atque omni dignitate que fortunâ. Itaque  
 obtained, and of-all (his) dignity and fortune. Therefore  
 ita, iudices, L. Murena orat atque obsecrat vos,  
 so, O judges, 'does L. Murena 'pray and entreat you,

si injuste læsit neminem; si violavit  
 (that) if 'he-has unjustly 'injured no-one; if he-has-offended  
 aures ve voluntatem nullius; si, ut levissime  
 the ears or desires of-no-one; if, as 'I-may most-moderately  
 dicam, fuit odio nemini, nec domi nec  
 'say, he-was (a cause of) hatred to-no-one, neither at-home nor  
 militiæ, sit apud vos locus modestiæ,  
 in-war, may-there-be with you an asylum (for) moderation,  
 sit perfugium demissis hominibus,  
 may-there-be (with you) a refuge for-dejected men,  
 sit auxilium pudori. Spoliatio  
 may-there-be (with you) encouragement for-modesty. The depriving  
 consulatûs debet, judices, habere magnam miseri-  
 of-the-consulship ought, O judges, to-excite great compas-  
 cordiam. Enim unâ cum consulatu omnia  
 sion (in you). For together with the consulship all-things  
 eripiuntur. Vero, his temporibus, consulatus  
 are-taken-away. Indeed, in-these times, the consulship  
 ipse potest habere nullam invidiam.  
 itself can have no envy. [The consulship is not

Enim obicitur concionibus sedi-  
 to be envied.] For (the consul) is-exposed to-the-harangues of-the-  
 tiosorum, insidiis conjuratorum, telis Ca-  
 seditious, to-the-plots of-conspirators, (and) to-the-weapons of-Ca-  
 tilinæ; denique opponitur solus ad omne periculum,  
 tiline; in-fine it-is-opposed alone to every danger,  
 atque ad omnem invidiam. Quare, judices,  
 and to all (kinds of) unpopularity. Wherefore, O judges,

non video quid invidendum sit Murenæ, aut  
 'I-do not 'see what may-be-envied (in) Murena, or  
 cuiquam nostrûm, in hoc præclaro consulatu.  
 ony-one of-us, in this distinguished (office of) consulship.

Vero quæ sunt miseranda, ea  
 But (those things) which are to-be-commiserated (in it), these  
 versantur ante mihi oculos, et vos potestis videre  
 are-present before (my) eyes, and you may see  
 et perspicere.  
 and clearly-perceive (them).



41. Si (quod omen Jupiter avertat!)  
 If (which omen 'may Jupiter 'avert!)

affixeritis hunc vestris sententiis, quò  
 you-should-condemn this-man by-your sentence, whither 'will

miser vertet se? domumne? ut eam  
 the-miserable-man 'turn himself? home? that that

imaginem clarissimi viri, sui parentis, quam  
 image of-a-most-illustrious man, his parent, which

paucis diebus ante, conspexit laureatam, in  
 a few days before, he-had-beheld crowned-with-laurels, for

suâ gratulatione, videat eandem deformatam  
 his congratulation, he-may-see the same (now) disfigured

ignominiâ que lugentem? an ad matrem, quæ  
 with-ignominy and in-mourning? whether to (his) mother, who

misera modo osculata suum filium con-  
 wretched (woman) 'had just 'kissed her son (as) con-

sulem, nunc cruciatur et sollicita est, ne paullo  
 sul, now tormented and agitated, lest a little

post conspiciat eundem spoliatum omni dignitate?  
 after she-may-behold him deprived of-all (his) dignity

Sed quid ego appello matrem aut  
 (and honours)? But why 'do I 'mention mother or

domum, quem nova pœna legis privat, et domo  
 home, whom the new penalty of-the-law deprives, both of-home

et parente, consuetudine que conspectu omnium  
 and parent, (and) of-the-intercourse and sight of-all

suorum. Igitur miser ibit  
 his (relations and acquaintances). Therefore the miserable-man will-go

in exilium? Quo? ne ad partes Orientis, in  
 into exile? Where? whether to the parts of-the-East, in

quibus fuit multos annos legatus, et duxit  
 which he-was for-many years a lieutenant, and led (and

exercitus, et gessit magnas res? At  
 commanded) armies, and performed great things? But

habet magnum dolorem reverti eodem cum  
 it-occasions great sorrow to-return to-the-same-place with

ignominiâ, unde decesseris cum honore. An  
 ignominy, whence you-had-departed with honour. But

abdet se in contrariam partem terrarum, ut  
 should-he-hide himself in a different part of-the-earth, as  
 Transalpina Gallia, quem nuper libentissime viderit  
 Transalpine Gaul, whom lately 'it most-willingly 'saw  
 cum summo imperio, videat eundem  
 (invested) with supreme power, (now) may-see the same-person  
 lugentem, moerentem exulem? In eâ provinciâ  
 mourning, grieving (and) an exile? In that province  
 porro, quo animo, adspiciet suum fratrem,  
 moreover, with-what state-of-mind, would-he-behold his brother,  
 C. Murenam? qui erit dolor hujus? qui  
 C. Murena? what will-be the grief of-this-one? [Murena] what  
 mœror illius? quæ lamentatio utriusque?  
 the sadness of-that-one? [his brother] what the lamentation of-both?  
 autem quanta perturbatio fortunæ, atque sermonis,  
 but what an alteration of-fortune, and of-speech,  
 quòd, in locis quibus paucis diebus ante, nuntii  
 that, in the places in-which a few days before, messengers,  
 que literæ celebrassent, Murenam esse factum  
 and letters had-joyfully-announced, (that) Murena was-made  
 consulem, et unde hospites atque amici concur-  
 consul, and whence (his) guests and friends had-  
 rerint Romam gratulatum, repente eo accedat  
 flocked to-Rome to-congratulate (him), suddenly there arrives  
 ipse nuntius suæ calamitatis? Quæ  
 the same messenger (with the news) of-his calamity? Which-things  
 si sunt acerba, si misera, si  
 if they-are harsh, if (they are) miserable, if (they are)  
 luctuosa, si alienissima a vestrâ mansuetudine  
 lamentable, if (they are) most-foreign to your clemency  
 et misericordiâ, iudices, conservate beneficium  
 and mercy, O judges, preserve (for him) the favour  
 Romani populi; reddite  
 of-the-Roman people, (that they have conferred on him); restore  
 consulem reipublicæ; date hoc pudori  
 the consul to-the-republic; grant this to-the-modesty  
 ipsius, date mortuo patri, date  
 of-the-man-himself, grant (it) 'to (his) 'dead father, grant (it) 'to (his)

generi et familiæ, date etiam Lanuvio honestissime  
 kindred and family, grant (it) also to-Lanuvium a most-honourable

municipio, quod vidistis frequens que  
 municipality, (the inhabitants of) which you-have-seen thronging and

mœstum in totâ hac causâ. Nolite avellere a  
 sad in all this cause. Do-not tear from

patriis sacris Junonis Sospitæ, cui est necesse  
 the paternal sacrifices of-Juno Sospita, to-whom it-is necessary

omnes consules facere, domesticum et suum  
 (for) all consuls to-sacrifice, her-domestic and her

potissimum consulem. Quem ego, si commendatio  
 most-especial consul. Whom I, if (my) recommendation

habet quid momenti, aut mea confirmatio  
 have any weight, or my strong-assurance (any)

auctoritatis, consul, judices, ita commendo consulem,  
 authority, (I) consul, O judges, so recommend the consul

ut promittam et spondeam, futurum esse  
 (elect), that I-promise and will-answer-for-him, (that) he-will-be

cupidissimum otii, studiocissimum  
 most-desirous of-tranquillity (in public affairs), most-anxious

bonorum, acerrimum contra seditionem,  
 (for the welfare) of-good-men, most-active against sedition,

fortissimum in bello, inimicissimum huic conjurationi,  
 most-brave in war, most-inimical to-this conspiracy

quæ nunc labefactat rempublicam.  
 (of Catiline), which now shakes the republic.

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,*

PRO  
 FOR

Q. LIGARIO.

*Q. LIGARIUS.*



1. MEUS propinquus, Q. Tubero, detulit ad te,  
 My relation, Q. Tubero, has-brought before you,  
 C. Cæsar, novum, et ante hunc diem, inauditum  
 O C. Cæsar, a new, and before this day, unheard-of  
 crimen, Q. Ligarium fuisse in Africâ; que C.  
 crime, (that) Q. Ligarius was in Africa; and C.  
 Pansa, vir præstanti ingenio, fretus fortasse  
 Pansa, a man (of) excellent talent, trusting perhaps (to)  
 eâ familiaritate, quæ est ei cum te,  
 that familiarity, which is to-him with you, [familiarity, that  
 exists between you,] has-ventured to-confess-it. Itaque nescio  
 quò vertam me. Enim veneram paratus,  
 where I-may-turn myself. For I-had-come prepared,  
 quum tu neque scires id per te, neque potuisses  
 as you neither knew it of yourself, nor could-have  
 audire aliunde, ut abuterer tuâ ignorance  
 heard (it) any-where, that I-might-abuse your ignorance  
 ad salutem miseri hominis. Sed quoniam quod  
 for the safety of-a-miserable man. But because that-which



latebat, diligentia inimici investigatum est,  
was-concealed, by-the-diligence 'of (his) 'enemy has-been-discovered,

confitendum est, ut opinor; praesertim quum meus  
it-must-be-confessed, as I-suppose; especially when my

necessarius Pansa fecerit, ut id esset non jam  
friend Pansa has-acted (so), that it would not now

integrum; que controversia omissa, omnis  
be-in-my-power (to deny it); and controversy being-omitted, all

oratio conferenda est ad tuam misericordiam  
(my) speech must-be-addressed to your mercy

qua plurimi conservati sunt, quum impetravissent  
by-which many have-been-preserved, when they-had-besought

a te non liberationem culpae, sed veniam  
from you not a release (from) crime, but pardon (for)

errati. Igitur, Tubero, habes, quod est maxime  
error. Therefore, O Tubero, you-have, what is greatly

optandum accusatori, confitentem reum; sed  
to-be-wished-for (by) an accuser, a confessing defendant; but

tamen confitentem hoc, se fuisse in ea parte,  
however confessing this, (that) he was in that part,

qua te, qua tuum patrem, virum  
[Africa,] in-which you, (were), in-which your father, a man

dignum omni laude. Itaque est prius necesse  
worthy (of) all praise (was). Therefore it-is first necessary

confitemini de vestro delicto, quam  
(that) you-confess your-own fault, than (that)

reprehendatis ullam culpam Ligarii.  
you-may-reprehend any fault of-Ligarius.

Enim Q. Ligarius, quum esset nulla suspicio  
For Q. Ligarius, when there-was no suspicion

belli, profectus est in Africam, cum C. Considio,  
of-war, went to Africa, with C. Considius,

legatus; in qua legatione, probavit se ita,  
as-lieutenant; in which lieutenantancy, he-proved himself so,

et civibus et sociis, ut Considius,  
(acceptable), both to-the-citizens and to-the-allies, that Considius,

decedens provinciâ, posset non satisfacere  
(on) departing from-the-province, could not have-satisfied

hominibus, si præfecisset alium quemquam  
the people, if he-had-placed any other-whatever (over)

provinciae. Itaque Ligarius quum diu recusans  
the province. Therefore Ligarius when (by) long refusing

profecisset nihil, invitus accepit provinciam;  
he-had-accomplished nothing, against-his-will he-accepted the province;

cui præfuit sic in pace, ut ejus integritas ac  
over-which he-presided so in peace, that his integrity and

fides esset gratissima, et civibus et sociis.  
good-faith were most-acceptable, both 'to (our) 'citizens and allies.

Subitò bellum exarsit; quod  
On-a-sudden the war, (between Pompey and Cæsar) broke-out; which

qui erant in Africâ audierunt  
(war) those-who were in Africa heard-of (its actually)

geri, ante quàm parari.  
being-waged, before (they heard) that preparations-were-made (for it).

Quo audito, partim inconsideratâ cupiditate,  
Which being-heard, partly by-inconsiderate zeal,

partim quodam cæco timore, quærebant  
partly (on account of) some blind fear, they-sought-for

aliquem ducem, primò salutis, post  
some-one (as) leader, at-first, (indeed, for the sake) of-safety, afterwards

etiam sui studii; quum Ligarius spectans  
also (led by) their-party zeal; when Ligarius looking

domum, cupiens redire ad suos,  
(towards) home, (and) desiring to-return to his (relations and

passus est se implicari nullo negotio.  
friends), suffered himself to-be-implicated in-no (such) business.

Interim P. Atius Varus, qui prætor obtinuerat  
In-the-mean-time P. Atius Varus, who (as) prætor had-obtained

Africam, venit Uticam; statim concur-  
Africa, (as his province,) came to-Utica; immediately there-was-

sum est ad eum. Atque ille arripuit imperium,  
a-flocking to him. And he seized on-the-command,

non mediocri cupiditate, si illud potuit esse  
'with no moderate 'cupidity, if that could be

imperium, quod deferebatur ad privatum, clamore  
command, which was-conferred on a private-person, by-the-clamour

imperitæ multitudinis, nullo publico  
 of-an-ignorant mob, (and having the sanction of) no public  
 consilio. Itaque Ligarius, qui cuperet effugere  
 council. Therefore Ligarius, who desired to-avoid  
 omne tale negotium, conquievit paulum adventu  
 all such affairs, rested for-a-while by-the-arrival

Vari.

of-Vari.

2. Adhuc, C. Cæsar, Q. Ligarius vacat omni  
 To-this-point, C. Cæsar, Q. Ligarius is-free from-all  
 culpâ. Egessus est domo non modò  
 blame. He-left home not only, (for the purpose of  
 ad nullum bellum, sed ne quidem ad minimam  
 joining) in no war, but not indeed with the least  
 suspicionem belli; profectus legatus  
 suspicion (of embarking in any) war; he-went (as) a lieutenant  
 in pace, ita gessit se in pacatissimâ  
 in (time of) peace, 'he so 'conducted himself in a most-peaceable  
 provinciâ, ut expediret ei pacem  
 province, that it-advantaged him (that) peace (should continue)  
 esse. Profectio certe debet non  
 to-be. (His) departure (from Rome) certainly ought not  
 offendere tuum animum; num igitur remansio?  
 to-offend your mind; then-why therefore (his) remaining  
 Multò minus; nam profectio habuit  
 (in Africa)? Much less; for (his) going-thither had  
 non turpem voluntatem, etiam remansio  
 no discreditable intent, (so) also (his) remaining (there was)  
 honestam necessitatem. Ergo hæc duo tempora  
 au honest necessity. Therefore these two periods  
 carent crimine: unum, quum profectus est legatus;  
 are-free from-reproach: the one, when he-went (as) lieutenant;  
 alterum quum efflagitatus a provinciâ præpositus est  
 the other when being-importuned by the province he-was-placed-over  
 Africæ. Tertium tempus, est quo post  
 Africa. The third period, is (that) in-which after  
 adventum Vari restitit in Africâ: quod si est  
 the arrival of-Varus he-remained in Africa: which if it-is

criminosum est crimen necessitatis, non voluntatis.  
 criminal is a crime of-necessity, not of-will.

An ille, si potuisset ullo modo evadere, maluisset  
 Whether he, if he-could in-any manner have-escaped, would-rather

esse Uticæ, quàm Romæ, cum P. Atio, quàm  
 be at-Utica, than at-Rome, with P. Atius (rather), than

cum concordissimis fratribus, cum  
 with (his) most-united (and beloved) brothers, with

alienis, quàm cum suis? Quum  
 strangers (rather), than with his-friends-and-relations? When (his)

legatio ipsa fuisset plena desiderii ac  
 government (in Africa) itself was full of-regret and

sollicitudine, propter quendam incredibilem amorem  
 solicitude, on-account-of some incredible affection

fratrum, potuit hic esse æquo animo,  
 (for his) brothers, could he be in-an-easy-state (of) mind,

distractus a fratribus, discidio belli? Igitur,  
 separated from (his) brothers, by-the-discords of-war? Therefore,

Cæsar, habes adhuc nullum signum, in Q. Ligario,  
 O Cæsar, you-have as-yet no sign, in Q. Ligarius,

alienæ voluntatis a te. Animadvertite,  
 of-an-unfriendly disposition towards you. Observe,

ego quæso quâ fide defendam causam  
 I entreat (you) with-what confidence (in you) I-defend the cause

cujus; prodo meam, O admirabilem clementiam,  
 of-this-man; (and) declare my-own, O admirable clemency,

atque decorandum laude omnium, prædicatione,  
 and (worthy) to-be-celebrated by-the-praise of-all, by-proclamation,

litteris que monumentis! M. Cicero defendit  
 by-written-records and monuments! M. Cicero defends

aliud apud te, fuisse non in ea  
 (and pleads for) another before you, (who) was not in that

voluntate, in qua confitetur  
 disposition (of mind against you), in which he-confesses (that)

se ipsum fuisse, nec extimescit tuas tacitas  
 he himself was, nor does-he-dread your silent

cogitationes, nec reformidat quid occurrat  
 thoughts, nor does-he-fear what may-occur



tibi, de se ipso, audienti de  
to-you, concerning himself, (while) hearing, (what he is pleading) for  
alio.  
another.

### 3. Vide, quàm non reformidem!

See, that 'I-am not 'afraid (to express my  
vide quanta lux tuæ liberalitatis,  
opinion before you)! see how the light of-your liberality  
et sapientiæ oboriatur mihi dicenti apud te!  
and wisdom rises on-me speaking before you!  
contendam voce quantùm potero, ut Romanus  
I-will-raise (my) voice as-much-as I-shall-be-able, that the Roman  
populus exaudiat hoc. Bello suscepto,  
people may-hear it. The war being-undertaken,  
Cæsar, etiam ex magnâ parte gesto,  
O Cæsar, also for a great part (already) carried-on,  
coactus nullâ vi, iudicio ac voluntate  
constrained by-no force, 'from (my own) 'judgment and free-will  
profectus sum ad ea arma, quæ sumpta erant  
I-went to those arms, which were-taken-up  
contra te. Apud quem  
against you. [I joined the armies opposed to you.] Before whom  
igitur dico hoc? Nempe apud eum, qui quum  
then do-I-say this? Indeed before him, who when  
sciret hoc, tamen antequam vidit me,  
(though) he-knew this, yet before he-saw me,  
reddidit reipublicæ: qui misit literas ad me  
restored (me) to-the-republic: who sent letters to me  
ex Ægypto, ut essem idem, qui fuisset; qui,  
from Ægypt, that I-might-be the same, which I-had-been; who,  
quum ipse esset unus imperator, in toto  
when he-himself was the one (sole) commander, in the entire  
imperio Romani populi, passus est me esse alterum;  
empire of-the-Roman people, suffered me to-be the other;  
a quo, hoc ipso C. Pansâ perferente  
from whom [Cæsar], this same C. Pansa (came) bringing  
mihi hunc nuntium tenui concessos  
me this message (that) I-might-retain the conceded (faces of a

laureatos, quoad putavi  
 successful commander) wreathed-with-laurel, as long-as I-thought  
 tenendos; qui tum denique putavit  
 (proper), (that) they-might-be-kept; who then at-last thought  
 se reddere mihi salutem, si dedisset  
 (that) 'he (did not properly) 'grant me safety, unless he-gave  
 eam spoliata nullis ornamentis. Vide quæso,  
 it despoiled of-no honours-and-dignities. See, I-pray  
 Tubero, ut, qui non dubitem dicere de  
 (you), O Tubero, that (I), who 'do not 'hesitate to-speak concerning  
 meo facto, audeam de Ligarii. Atque  
 my-own actions, may-dare (to speak) of (those) of-Ligarius. And  
 dixi hæc propterea de me, ut  
 I-have-said these-things on-that-account concerning myself, that  
 Tubero ignosceret mihi quum dicerem eadem  
 Tubero may-pardon me when I-say the same-things  
 de se; cujus industriæ que gloriæ ego  
 concerning himself; whose industry and renown I  
 faveo, vel propter propinquam cognationem,  
 applaud, either on-account-of (our) near relationship,  
 vel quòd delector ejus ingenio que studiis,  
 or because I-am-pleased 'with his 'talents and zeal,  
 vel quòd existimo laudem adolescentis pro-  
 or because I-think (that) the praise of-a-young-man (my) re-  
 pinqui, etiam redundare ad aliquem fructum  
 lation, also redounds to some advantage (of)  
 meum. Sed quæro hoc: quis putat esse crimen,  
 my-own. But I-ask this: who thinks (it) to-be a crime,  
 fuisse in Africâ? Is nempe, qui et ipse  
 so-have-been in Africa? (Why) he indeed, who both himself  
 voluit esse in eâdem Africâ, et queritur, se  
 wished to-be in the same Africa, and complains, (that) he  
 prohibitum a Ligario; et certe congressus est  
 was-prohibited by Ligarius; and (who) certainly assembled  
 armatus contra Cæsarem ipsum. Quid  
 (with others) armed against Caesar himself. What  
 enim, Tubero, ille tuus dstrictus gladius agebat  
 indeed, O Tubero, 'did that your drawn sword 'do

in acie Pharsalia? .cujus latus ille mucr  
 in the battle (of) Pharsalia? whose side 'was that swor.

petebat? qui erat sensus tuorum  
 (of yours) 'aimed-at? what was the meaning (and intent) of-your

armorum? quæ tua mens, oculi, manus ardor  
 arms? what your mind, eyes, hands, (and) ardour

animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas? Urgeo  
 of-soul? what did-you-desire? what did-you-wish? (But) I-am-urging

nimis; adolescens videtur commoveri: revertar  
 too-strongly; the young-man seems to-be-moved: I-will-return

ad me; fui in armis in iisdem.  
 to myself; I-was (also) in arms in the same (cause).

4. Autem quid aliud, Tubero, egimus, nisi,  
 But what else, Tubero, are-we-in-want-of, unless,

ut quod hic potest, nos posse  
 that which he [Cæsar] can-do, (in acts of clemency,) we might-be-

mus? Quorum impunitas igitur, Cæsar, est  
 able-to-do? Whose impunity therefore, O Cæsar, is

laus tuæ clementiæ, oratio eorum ipsorum,  
 the praise of-your clemency, 'shall the speech of-these same-men,

acuet te ad crudelitatem? Atque in  
 (the accusers,) 'stir you 'up to cruelty? And in

hac causâ, Tubero, equidem desidero nonnihil,  
 this cause, O Tubero, 'I indeed 'miss in-some-degree,

etiam tuam prudentiam, sed multò magis tui  
 not-only your prudence, but much more (that) of-your

patris; quòd homo quum excellens  
 father; because (this) man (your father) when excelling

ingenio, tum etiam doctrinâ, non  
 'by (his) 'talents, as also 'by (his) 'learning, 'did not

viderit, quod genus causæ hoc esset; nam si  
 'see, what kind of-cause this might-be; for if

vidisset, maluisset agi a te  
 he-had-perceived (it), he-would-rather (that it) were-conducted by you

quovis modo profectò, quàm isto.  
 in-any (other) manner indeed, than in-this (of yours).

Arguis fatentem; est  
 You-accuse (one) confessing (what you allege against him); (this) is

non satis; accusas eum, qui habet causam, aut ut  
 not enough; you-accuse him, who has a cause, either as  
 ego dico, meliorem quàm tu; aut ut tu  
 I say, better than you (have); or as you

vis parem. Hæc admirabilia: sed quod  
 will-have-it equal. These-things (are) strange: but what

dicam est simile prodigii. Ista accusatio habet  
 I-am-about-to-say is like a prodigy. This accusation has

non eam vim, ut Q. Ligarius condemnetur,  
 not that force (and object), that Q. Ligarius should-be-condemned,

sed ut necetur. Nemo, Romanus civis,  
 but that he-should-be-killed. No-one, a Roman citizen, (ever)

egit hoc ante te. Isti externi mores  
 did this before you. These foreign manners (are accustomed)

incitari odio usque ad sanguinem,  
 to-be-excited by-hatred even to (spilling) blood, (and are the

aut levium Græcorum aut immanium  
 manners) either of-fickle Greeks or of-ferocious

barbarorum. Nam quid aliud agis?  
 barbarians. For what else are-you-doing? (that) 'he-may

ne sit Romæ? ut careat domo?  
 not 'be in-Rome? that he-may-be-deprived of-home? (that) 'he-may

ne vivat cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc  
 not 'live with (his) most-excellent brothers, nor with this

T. Broccho avunculo, ne cum ejus filio, suo  
 T. Brocchus (his) uncle, nor with his son, his

consobrino, ne cum nobis? ne sit in  
 cousin, nor with us? (that) 'he-may not 'be in (his)

patriâ? Est num? potest num carere omnibus  
 country? Is-it then-so? can-he then want all

his magis, quàm caret?  
 these-things more, than 'he-does (actually now) 'want (them)?

prohibetur Italiâ, exsulat. Ergo tu vis non  
 he-is-prohibited from-Italy, he-is-an-exile. Therefore you wish not

privare hunc patriâ, quâ caret,  
 to-deprive him 'of (his) 'country, which 'he-is (already) 'deprived-of,

sed vitâ. At ne quisquam egit isto modo  
 but (of his) life. But not any-one acted in-this manner (in)



istud apud eum dictatorem  
 this (accusation of yours) (even) before that dictator [Sylla,  
 quidem, qui multabat morte omnes, quos oderat.  
 indeed, who punished with-death all, whom he-hated.  
 Ipse jubebat occidi, nullo postulante;  
 He-himself ordered (them) to-be-killed, no-one soliciting (it); 'he  
 etiam invitabat præmiis;  
 even 'invited by-rewards, (the commission of these murders)  
 quæ crudelitas tamen, vindicata est, aliquot annis  
 which cruelty however, was-avenged, some years  
 post ab hoc eodem, quem tu vis nunc  
 after by this same (person), [Cæsar] whom you desire now  
 esse crudelem.  
 to-be cruel.

5. Ego vero, inquires non postulo istud.  
 I indeed, you-say 'do not 'ask this, (the death  
 Mehercule, Tubero, existimo ita. Enim  
 of Ligarius). By-Hercules, O Tubero, I-think so. For  
 novi te, novi vestrum patrem, novi domum  
 I-know you, I-know your father, I-know (your) family  
 que nomen; studia virtutis, humanitatis  
 and name; the love of-virtue, of-humanity (and politeness)  
 doctrinæ plurimarum atque optimarum  
 of the-learning (and science) of-many and most-excellent  
 artium, vestræ familiæ ac generis,  
 arts (and sciences), (for which) your race and family  
 sunt nota mihi. Itaque certè scio,  
 (are distinguished), are known to-me. Therefore 'I certainly 'know,  
 vos non petere sanguinem. Sed  
 (that) you 'do not 'seek for-blood. But 'you (the accusers)  
 attenditis parum. Enim res  
 'attend little (to the consequences of this). For the affair  
 spectat eo, ut non videamini  
 (of the prosecution) tends to-that, that 'you-do not 'seem  
 esse contenti, eâ poenâ, in quâ Q. Ligarius  
 to-be satisfied, with-that punishment, in which Q. Ligarius  
 sit. Quæ alia igitur præter  
 may-be [may have received]. What other (punishment) therefore except

mortem est? Enim si est in exsilio, sicut  
 death is-there? For if he-is in exile, as 'he (actually)  
 est, quid amplius postulatis? an ne  
 'is, what more do-you-ask-for? whether (that) 'he-may not  
 ignoscatur? Hoc vero multò acerbius, que  
 'be pardoned? This (would be) indeed much more-harsh, and  
 multò durius. Pugnabis ne impetremus id,  
 much harder. Will-you-strive-against, lest we-should-obtain that,  
 quod nos domi petimus precibus  
 which we 'at (his) 'house [Cæsar's] asked-for with-entreaties, (and)  
 lacrymis, strati ad pedes, non fidentes  
 tears, having-thrown-ourselves at (hie) feet, not confiding  
 tam nostræ causæ, quàm hujus humanitati?  
 so-much to-our-own cause, as 'to his 'humanity?  
 et irrumpes in nostrum fletum? et prohibebis  
 and do-you-break-in upon our tears? and will-you prohibit  
 nos jacentes ad pedes, voce supplicum?  
 us lying at (his) feet, (to speak) with-the-voice of-suppliants?  
 Si quum faceremus hoc domi, quod  
 If when we-were-doing this at-the-house (of Cæsar), which 'we  
 et fecimus et, ut spero, fecimus non frustra,  
 both 'did-do and, as I-hope, we-did (it) not in-vain,  
 tu repente irrupisses, et cœpisses clamare:  
 'you-had suddenly 'broke-in (upon us), and had-commenced to-cry-out  
 "C. Cæsar, cave ignoscas, cave te  
 "O C. Cæsar, take-care that-you-forgive, take-care (how) you  
 misereat fratrum obsecrantium pro salute  
 take-compassion on-brothers supplicating for the safety  
 fratris;" nonne exuisses omnem  
 of-a-brother;" 'would-you not 'have-divested (yourself of) all  
 humanitatem? Quantò durius hoc,  
 humanity? How-much-more (disagreeable and) hard (than) this  
 quod nos petimus domi, id  
 (is it, that) what we petitioned-for 'at (his) 'house, (that) the same  
 oppugnari a te in foro? te tollere  
 should-be-opposed by you in the forum? (that) you should-take-away  
 perfugium misericordiæ multorum in tali miseriâ?  
 the refuge of-mercy of-many in such misery?

Plane dicam, Cæsar, quod sentio. Si in hac  
 'I-will openly 'say, O Cæsar, what I-think. If in this  
 tuâ tantâ fortunâ, lenitas non esset tanta,  
 your so-great fortune, (your) lenity 'had not 'been so-great,  
 quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines  
 as you of yourself, of yourself, I-say, possess  
 (intelligo, quid loquar), ista victoria redundaret  
 (I-understand, what I-say), this victory would-abound

acerbissimo luctu. Enim quàm  
 with-the-most-distressing mourning (and grief). For as

essent multi de victoribus, qui vellent te  
 there-may-have-been many of the victors, who wished you  
 esse crudelem, quum etiam reperiantur  
 to-be cruel, so also 'may-there (not) 'be-some-found

de victis? quàm multi, qui,  
 among the conquered, (who wish the same thing)? as many, who,

quum vellent ignosci nemini a  
 when they-desire (that) pardon-should-be-granted to-no-one by

te, impedirent tuam clementiam, quum etiam ii,  
 you, would-impede your clemency, so also these,

quibus ipse ignovisti, nolint te esse  
 whom you-yourself had-pardoned, do-not-wish you to-be

misericordem in alios? Quòd si possemus probare  
 merciful to others? For if we-could prove

Cæsari, Ligarium fuisse non omnino in Africâ;  
 to-Cæsar, (that) Ligarius was not at-all in Africa;

si vellemus esse salutem  
 should-we-have-desired to-be (the means of procuring) the safety (of an)

calamitoso civi, honesto et misericordi mendacio,  
 unfortunate citizen, by-a-well-meant and commiserating falsehood,

tamen non hominis, in tanto discrimine  
 yet 'it-would not 'be (the part) of-a-man, in such-great hazard

et periculo civis, refellere et redarguere nostrum  
 and danger of-a-citizen, to-refute and reprehend our

mendacium; et si esset alicujus, certe  
 falsehood; and if there-might-be any-one, 'it-would certainly

non esset ejus, qui fuisset in eadem  
 not have-been (the part) of-him (to do so), who had-been in the same

causâ et fortunâ. Sed tamen aliud nolle.  
state and condition. But however it-is-one-thing not-to-wish,

Cæsarem errare, aliud nolle mise-  
(that) Cæsar should-err, another not-to-wish (that) he-should-be-mer-

rerî. Tunc diceret "Cæsar, cave  
ciful. Then (in the first case) you-would-say "O Cæsar, beware

credas; fuit in Africâ; tulit arma  
(how) you-believe (this); he-was in Africa; he-bore arms

contra te." Nunc quid dicis? Cave  
against you." Now what do-you-say? Beware (how)

ignoscas." Hæc vox est nec hominis,  
you-pardon." This language is neither (the part) of-a-man

nec ad hominem; qui utitur  
(to utter), nor (to be addressed) to a man; (and) he-who makes-use

quâ apud te, C. Cæsar, citius abjiciet suam  
of-it before you, O C. Cæsar, 'will sooner 'throw-off his-own

humanitatem, quàm extorquebit tuam.  
humanity, than (that) he-will-extort yours (from you).

6. Ac primus aditus, et postulatio  
And the first opening (of the case), and declaration

Tuberonis fuit hæc, ut opinor, se velle dicere  
of-Tubero was this, as I-suppose, (that) he wished to-speak

de scelere Q. Ligari. Non dubito, quin  
of the crime of-Q. Ligarius. 'I-do not 'doubt, "but-that

admiratus sis, vel quòd quisquam afferret  
you-were-surprised, either that any-one had-brought-forward

de nullo alio, vel quod is, qui fuisset in  
(this) against no other-per-son, or that he, who had-been in

eadem causâ, vel  
the same cause (and condition himself, should bring it forward), or

quidnam novi sceleris. Tu  
(that he should bring forward) something of-a-new crime. Do you

vocas illud scelus, Tubero? cur? Enim illa causa  
call that a crime, O Tubero? why-so? For that cause

adhuc caruit isto nomine. Alii  
[of Pompey] as-yet had-been-free-from this name. Some

appellant errorem; alii timorem; qui  
call (it) an error; others (call it) fear; those-who (judge



durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam;  
 more-harshly (call it), hope, cupidity, hatred, pertinacity;  
 qui gravissime temeritatem; adhuc, præter  
 those-who (judge) most-severely (call it) temerity; as-yet, except  
 te, nemo scelus. Ac quidem mihi,  
 you, no-one (has called it) a crime. And indeed (it appears; to-me,  
 si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali quæritur,  
 if a proper and true name of-our misfortune is-required,  
 videtur quædam fatalis calamitas incidisse, et  
 it-seems (as if) some fatal calamity had-fallen-upon, and  
 occupavisse improvidas mentes hominum: ut nemo  
 occupied the improvident minds of-men: so-that no-one  
 debeat mirari, humana consilia superata esse  
 ought to-wonder, (that) human counsels were-overcome  
 divinâ necessitate. Liceat esse miseros;  
 by-divine necessity. May-it-be-allowed (us) to-be miserable;  
 quamquam, hoc victore, possumus  
 although, this-man [Cæsar] (being) conqueror, we-can  
 non esse; sed non loquor de nobis; loquor  
 not be (so); but 'I-do not speak of ourselves; I-speak  
 de illis, qui occiderunt. Fuerint  
 concerning those, who fell (in battle). They-may-have-been  
 cupidi, fuerint irati,  
 ambitious, they-may-have-been under-the-influence-of-passion-and-anger,  
 fuerint pertinaces; vero liceat Cn. Pompeio  
 they-may-have-been obstinate; but let Cn. Pompey  
 mortuo, liceat multis aliis carere crimine  
 (who is) dead, let many others be-free-from the crime  
 sceleris, furoris, parricidii. Quando quisquam  
 of-wickedness, of-rage, (and) of-parricide. When 'has any-one  
 audit hoc ex te, Cæsar, aut quid aliud tua  
 'heard this from you, O Cæsar, or what else 'did your  
 arma voluerunt, nisi propulsare  
 arms, (and military exploits,) 'intend, unless to-repel  
 contumeliam a te? quid ille tuus invictus  
 insult-and-injury from yourself? what 'did that your invincible  
 exercitus egit, nisi tueretur suum jus, et  
 army 'intend, unless-that it-might-defend its rights, and

**tuam dignitatem?** Quid? tu, quum cupiebas  
 your dignity? What? you, when you-were-desirous (that)

esse pacem, ne agebas id, ut  
 there-should-be peace, whether you-acted so, that

conveniret tibi cum sceleratis, an ut  
 you-might-come-to-terms-of-agreement with the wicked, or that

cum bonis civibus? Vero, Cæsar, tua  
 (it might be) with good citizens? Indeed, O Cæsar, your

maxima merita in me non certe viderentur  
 very-great favours to me 'would not certainly 'have-appeared

mihi tanta, si putarem me conservatum a  
 to-me so-great, if I-had-thought, (that) I was-preserved by

te ut sceleratum. Autem quomodo tu  
 you as a wicked-person. But how 'would you

meritus esses bene de republica, quum voluisses,  
 'have-merited well of the republic, if you-had-desired,

tot sceleratos esse dignitate  
 (that) so-many wicked (men) be (continued) in (their) dignity

incolumi? Tu, Cæsar,  
 (and honours, without having them) impaired? You, O Cæsar,

initio, existimavisti illam secessionem,  
 in-the-beginning, thought that (affair) a secession,

non bellum; neque hostile odium, sed civile  
 not a war; nor a hostile hatred, but civil

dissidium; utrisque cupientibus rempublicam  
 dissension; men-on-both-sides desiring the republic

salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim  
 (to be) safe, but partly 'with (good) 'intentions, partly

studiis, aberrantibus a communi utilitate.  
 'through (party) 'zeal, wandering from the general welfare.

Dignitas principum erat pæne par;  
 The dignity of-the-leaders [Pompey and Cæsar] was nearly equal;

fortasse eorum qui sequebantur non par:  
 perhaps (the dignity) of-those who followed (was) not equal:

causa tum dubia, quòd erat aliquid in  
 the cause (was) then doubtful, because there-was something in

utrâque parte, quod posset probari; nunc ea  
 each party, that might be-approved-of; now that

judicanda est melior, quam etiam dii  
is-to-be-judged the better (cause), which even the gods

adjuverunt. Vero, tuâ clementiâ cognitâ,  
assisted (and favoured). But your clemency being-known,

quis non probet eam victoriam, in quâ nemo  
who 'does not 'approve-of that victory, in which no-one

occiderit nisi armatus?  
may-have-fallen unless (he were) armed?

7. Sed, ut omittam communem causam,  
But, that I-may-omit the general cause,

veniamus ad nostram utrum  
let-us-come to our (particular cause of Ligarius), whether

tandem existimas fuisse facilius, Tubero,  
in-fine do-you-think (it) to-have-been easier, O Tubero, (that)

Ligarium exire ex Africâ, an vos  
Ligarius (should) depart from Africa, or (that) you (should)

non venire in Africam? Ne poteramus,  
not arrive in Africa? But could-we (avoid doing so),

inquies, quum senatus censuisset? Si consulis  
you-say, when the senate had-decreed-it? If you-consult

me, nullo modo. Sed tamen  
me, (I say you could) in-no way (avoid doing so). But however

idem senatus legaverat Ligarium.  
the same senate had-sent-as-lieutenant Ligarius (into Africa).

Atque ille paruit, eo tempore,  
And he obeyed, at-that time, [before the civil war,]

quum erat necesse parere senatui; vos paruistis  
when it-was necessary to-obey the senate; (but) you obeyed

tunc, quum nemo paruit, qui noluit.  
then, [during the civil war,] when no-one obeyed, who did-not-wish.

Reprehendo igitur? Vero minime; enim neque  
Do-I-blame (you) therefore? Not in-the-least; for neither

licuit vestro generi, nomini, familiæ, disciplinæ,  
was-it-allowed 'to your 'race, name, family, and education,

aliter. Sed non concedo hoc, ut  
(to do) otherwise. But 'I-do not 'grant this, that (those)

rebus quibus gloriemini in vobis, easdem  
things which you-glory-of in yourselves, (that) the same-things

reprehendatis in aliis. Sors Tuberonis  
you-should-blame in others. The lot of Tubero [the father, for the

conjecta est ex consulto senatûs,  
command of a province,] was-drawn by a decree of-the-senate,

quum ipse non adesset, etiam  
when he-himself 'was not 'present, (and when) 'he-was also

impediretur morbo; statuerat excusare.  
'hindered by-sickness; he-had-determined to excuse (himself).

Ego novi hæc propter necessitudines omnes,  
I knew these-things on-account-of the intimacies (of) all-kinds,

quæ sunt mihi cum L. Tuberone.  
which are (peculiar) to-me with L. Tubero.

Eruditi unâ domi, contubernales  
We-were-instructed together at-home, (we were) mess-mates (in)

militiæ, post affines, denique in omni  
war, afterwards connected-by-marriage, in-a-word during all

vitâ familiares, etiam magnum vinculum,  
life familiar-acquaintances, also (that) great bond

quòd semper usi sumus  
(of union existed between us), because 'we-were always 'devoted (to)

iisdem studiis. Scio igitur Tuberonem  
the-same studies (and pursuits). I-know therefore, (that) Tubero

voluisse manere domi; sed quidam ita agebat  
desired to-remain at-home; but a certain-person so acted

ita opponebat sanctissimum nomen  
and urged, (and) 'gave such 'force to-the-most-sacred name

reipublicæ, ut etiamsi sentiret aliter, tamen  
of-the-republic, that although he-might-think otherwise, however

posset non sustinere pondus ipsorum verborum.  
he-could not sustain the weight of-his words.

Cessit auctoritati amplissimi viri, vel potius  
He yielded to-the-authority of-a-most-distinguished man, or rather

paruit. Profectus est unâ cum iis, causa  
he-obeyed (him). He-departed together with those, the cause

quorum erat una; fecit tardius  
of-whom was one-and-the-same (with his); he-made a slow

iter. Itaque venit in Africam jam  
journey. Therefore he-arrived in Africa (when) already



occupatam. Hinc oritur crimen in  
occupied. Hence originates (the charge of) crime against

Ligarium, vel potius ira; nam si est  
Ligarius, or rather (of) anger (against him); for if it-is

ullum crimen voluisse, est non minus magnum  
any crime to-have-wished, it-is no less a great

vos voluisse obtinere Africam,  
(crime) (that) you wished to-obtain (possession of) Africa,

arcem omnium provinciarum, natam ad  
the citadel of-all the provinces, (a country) fitted-by-nature to

gerendum bellum contra hanc urbem, quàm  
carrying-on war against this city, than (that)

aliquem maluisse se. Atque  
any-one else might-have-wished (to obtain it for) himself. And

tamen is aliquis non fuit Ligarius.  
though this some-one 'might not 'have-been Ligarius.

Varus dicebat se habere imperium; certe  
Varus said (that) he had the command; 'he certainly

habebat fasces. Sed, quoquo modo illud habet  
'had the fasces. But, in-whatever manner that may-hold

se, quid valet hæc vestra querela?  
itself, [however that may be], what avails this your complaint

"Non recepti sumus in provinciam."  
(that) "We-were not 'received in the province."

Quid si essetis? Ne tradituri fuistis eam  
What if you-had-been? Would-you-have-delivered it (up)

Cæsari, an retenturi contra Cæsarem?  
to-Cæsar, or have-held (it) against Cæsar?

8. Vide, Cæsar, quid licentiæ, vel potius audaciæ,  
See, O Cæsar, what licence, or rather audacity,

tua liberalitas det. Si Tubero responderit,  
your liberality gives (us). If Tubero should-repy, (that)

suum patrem traditurum fuisse tibi Africam, quò  
his father would-have-delivered-up to-you Africa, whither

senatus que sors miserat, non  
the senate and the lot (he drew) had-sent (him), 'I-shall not

lubitabo, apud te ipsum cujus interfuit,  
'hesitate, before you yourself, (O Cæsar,) whose interest-'t-was

eum facere id, reprehendere ejus consilium  
(that) he should-do this, to-reprove his intention

gravissimis verbis. Enim non si  
with-the-most-severe words. For (it does) not (follow, that) if

ea res fuisset grata tibi, esset etiam  
this thing may-have-been acceptable to-you, (that) it-should also

probata. Sed jam omitto totum hoc; non  
be-approved (by you). But 'I now 'omit all this; not

tam ne offendam tuas patientissimas aures,  
so-much lest I-might-offend your most-patient ears,

quàm Tubero ne videatur facturum fuisse,  
as-that Tubero 'might not 'seem to-have-been-about-to-do,

quod nunquam cogitavit. Igitur veniebatis  
that-which 'he never 'contemplated (doing). Therefore you-came

in provinciam Africam, unam ex  
(and attempted to enter) into the province (of) Africa, the one of

omnibus, maxime infestam huic  
all (others) the most-greatly inimical (to the results of) this

victoriæ; in qua erat  
victory (of Pharsalus); in which (country of Africa) there-was

potentissimus rex, inimicus huic causæ,  
a-most-powerful king, opposed to-this cause (of Cæsar),

voluntas, aliena, firmi  
the disposition (of the people of the province) hostile, firm (and

atque magni conventus.  
determined), and large assemblages (of Roman citizens, opposed

Quæro, quid facturi fuistis. Quamquam  
to Cæsar). I-ask, what would-you-have-done. Yet

dubitem, quid facturi fuistis, quum videam,  
'may-I (not) 'doubt, what you-would-have-done, when I-see,

quid feceritis? Prohibiti estis ponere pedem in  
what you-have-done? You-were-prohibited to-set a foot in

vestrâ provinciâ, et prohibiti cum summâ injuriâ.  
your province, and prohibited with the greatest injustice.

Quomodo tulistis id? Ad quem detulistis  
How did-you-bear this? To whom did-you-carry

querelam injuriæ acceptæ? Nempe  
'the complaint of-the-injury (and injustice) received (by you)? Why

ad eum,                   cujus auctoritatem                   secuti  
to him [Pompey], whose           authority (and command) being-followed

veneratis in societatem  
(and acknowledged) you-had-come to (his) party (and associates)

belli. Quòd si veniebatis in provinciam  
(in) the war. Because if you-came into the province

|               |                 |                      |                   |           |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| <b>causâ</b>  | <b>Cæsaris,</b> | <b>profectò</b>      | <b>venissetis</b> | <b>ad</b> |
| for-the-cause | of-Cæsar,       | 'you-would certainly | 'have-gone        | to        |

eum, exclusi provinciâ. Venistis ad  
him, (when) excluded from-the-province. (But) you-came to

Pompeium. Quæ querela ergo est apud  
Pompey. What complaint therefore is (that to make) before

Cæsarem, quum accusetis eum, a quo queramini,  
Cæsar, when you-accuse him, of whom you-complain,

vos prohibitos gerere bellum  
(that) you were-prohibited (by him, from) carrying-on war

contra Cæsarem? Atque quidem in hoc licet  
against Caesar? And indeed in this-thing, it-is-granted

per me, vel cum mendacio, gloriemini, si  
by me (that), though with a falsehood, you-may-boast, if

vultis,            vos tradituros fuisse provinciam Cæsari.  
you-please, (that) you would-have-delivered    the province    to-Cæsar.

Etiam si prohibiti estis a Varo et a quibusdam  
Even-if you-had-been-prohibited by Varus and by some

aliis ; ego tamen confitebor, culpam esse Ligarii,  
others ; I however confess, (that) the fault was of-Ligarius,

qui privaverit vos occasione tantæ laudis.  
 who deprived you of-the-opportunity of-so-much praise.

9. Sed vide, quæso, Cæsar, constantiam

But see, I-pray-you, O Cæsar, the constancy <sup>1</sup>of (this)

ornatissimi viri L. Tuberonis; quam quamvis, ego  
 'most-accomplished man L. Tubero; which although,

ipse      probarem,      ut      probo,      tamen      nor  
myself   might-approve,   as   I-do-approve,   however   'I-would not

commemorarem, nisi cognovissem eam virtutem  
'have-mentioned (it), unless I-had-known, (that) that virtue

**solere**   **laudari**   **a**   **te**   **in primis.**   **Quæ constantia**  
used   to-be-praised   by   you   especially.   Which   constancy

igitur fuit unquam tanta, in ullo homine?  
therefore was (it) ever so-great, in any man?

constantiam dico? nescio an possim  
constancy do-I-say? I-know-not whether I-might (not)

melius dicere patientiam. Enim quotus quisque  
better say patience. For what individual

fecisset istud, ut in civili dissensione,  
would-have-done this-thing, that in civil dissensions,

rediret ad eos ipsos, a quibus non  
he-should-return to those same, by whom 'he-had not

esset receptus, etiam esset rejectus cum crudelitate.  
'been-received, (and) even was-rejected with cruelty.

Cujusdam magni animi, atque  
(This would be the act) of-some great mind, and

ejus viri, quem nulla contumelia, nulla vis,  
of-that man, whom no contumely, no force,

nullum periculum possit depellere, de susceptâ  
no danger could drive, from (his) adopted

causâ, que propositâ sententiâ. Enim ut  
cause, and formed opinion. For although

cetera fuissent paria Tuberoni cum Varo,  
other-things may-have-been equal to-Tubero with Varus,

honus, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quæ fuerunt  
honour, nobility, splendour, (and) talent, which were

nequaquam; hoc certe præcipuum  
by-no-means (equal); this (was) certainly the particular (advantage)

Tuberonis, quod venerat in suam provinciam cum  
of-Tubero, that he-had-come in his province with

justo imperio ex consulto senatûs.  
a just (and legal) command (derived) from a decree of-the-senate.

Hinc prohibitus non ad Cæsarem,  
Hence (when) prohibited (he did) not (go) to Cæsar,

ne iratus; non domum,  
lest (he might appear) to-be-angry (with his party; and) not home,

ne iners; non in aliquam  
lest (he might seem to be) inactive; not to any (other)

regionem, ne videretur condemnare illam causam,  
country, lest he-might-seem to-condemn that cause,



quam secutus est: venit in Macedo-  
 which 'he-had (adopted and) 'followed: he-came to Macedo-  
 niam, ad Cn. Pompeii castra, in eam ipsam causam,  
 nia, to Cn. Pompey's camp, for that same cause,  
 a quâ rejectus erat cum injuriâ. Quid? quum  
 from which he-had-been-rejected with injury. What? when  
 ista res nihil commovisset animum ejus, ad  
 this thing 'had not-at-all 'moved the mind of-him, to  
 quem veneratis, credo fuistis langui-  
 whom you-had-come, I-believe (that) you-were (excited) by-a-more-lan-  
 diore studio in causâ; eratis tantummodo in  
 guid zeal for the cause; you-were only in  
 præsidiis, vero animi abhorrebant a  
 garrisons (and camps), but (your) minds became-estranged from  
 causâ; an ut fit in civilibus  
 the cause; or, (was it so,) as is-done [as is the case] in civil  
 bellis, nec in vobis magis quàm in reliquis;  
 wars, nor in you more than in the rest; (that  
 enim omnes tenebamur studio vincendi.  
 indeed 'we-are all 'possessed with-the-desire of-conquering  
 Fui semper equidem auctor pacis; sed tum  
 I-was always indeed the advocate of-peace; but then (I-was)  
 serò; enim erat amentis, cogitare pacem,  
 too-late; for it-was (the part) of-a-madman, to-think (of) peace,  
 quum videres aciem. Omnes,  
 when you-saw (the armies drawn up) in-order-of-battle. All  
 inquam, volebamus vincere; tu certe præcipue,  
 (of us), I-say, wished to-conquer; you indeed especially,  
 qui venisses in eum locum, ubi esset  
 who had-come into that place, where 'it-would (necessarily) 'be  
 tibi pereundum, nisi vicisses; quanquam,  
 for-you (that you) must-perish, unless you-had-conquered; however,  
 ut res nunc habet se, non  
 as the thing now has itself [as things now are], 'I do not  
 dubito, quin anteponas hanc salutem  
 'doubt, but-that you-prefer this (present) safety (of yours)  
 illi victoriæ.  
 to-that victory.

10. Ego non dicerem hæc, Tubero, si aut  
 I-would not say these-things, O Tubero, if either  
 pœniteret vos vestræ constantiæ,  
 it-repented you [if either you repented] of-your constancy,  
 aut Cæsarem sui beneficii. Nunc  
 or Cæsar of-his benefits, (conferred on you). 'I now  
 quæro, utrum persequamini vestras injurias,  
 'ask, whether you-are-seeking-to-redress your-own injuries,  
 an reipublicæ? Si reipublicæ; quid  
 or (those) of-the-republic? If of-the-republic; what  
 respondebitis de vestrâ perseverantiâ, in illâ  
 will-you-reply concerning your perseverance, in that  
 causâ? si vestras videte, ne  
 cause (of Pompey)? if your-own (cause) see, lest  
 erretis, qui putetis, Cæsarem fore  
 you-may-be-mistaken, who may-think, (that) Cæsar would-be  
 iratum vestris inimicis, quum ignoverit suis.  
 angry with-your enemies, when he-has-forgiven his-own.

Itaque, num videor tibi esse occupatus  
 Therefore, whether do-I-seem to-you (O Cæsar) to-be-occupied  
 in causâ Ligarii? num dicere de  
 with the cause of-Ligarius? whether (do I seem) to-speak concerning  
 ejus facto? Quidquid dixi volo referri  
 his action (and conduct)? Whatever I-said I-wish to-be-referred  
 ad unam summam vel humanitatis, vel  
 to one principal-thing (that) either 'of (your) 'humanity, or  
 clementiæ, vel misericordiæ. Egi  
 clemency, or mercy. I-have-conducted-and-pleaded  
 multas causas, et quidem cum te, Cæsar, dum  
 many causes, and indeed with you, O Cæsar, while  
 ratio tuorum honorum tenuit te in foro;  
 the course of-your honours kept you in the forum; (but)  
 certe nunquam hoc modo. "Ignoscite, judices;  
 certainly never in-this manner. "Pardon, O judges,  
 erravit; lapsus est; non putavit; si unquam  
 he-has-erred; he-has-fallen; 'he-did not 'think; if ever  
 posthac." Sic solet agi apud  
 hereafter." Thus it-is-usual to-act (and plead) with

parentem; ad judices, "non fecit,  
 a parent; (but) to judges (thus), "he-did not do-it, 'he-did  
 non cogitavit; testes falsi, crimen  
 not 'think-of-it; the witnesses (are) false, the crime (he is accused  
 fictum." Dic, Cæsar, te esse judicem de  
 of is) fictitious." Say, O Cæsar, (that) you are a judge of  
 facto Ligarii; quære, in quibus præsiidiis  
 the acts of-Ligarius; ask, in what garrisons (and camps)  
 fuerit. Taceo; ne quidem colligo  
 he-may-have-been. I-am-silent; 'I-do not indeed 'collect  
 hæc, quæ fortasse etiam valerent apud judicem:  
 those proofs, which perhaps also might-avail before a judge:  
 "profectus legatus ante bellum, relictus in  
 "he-went a lieutenant before the war, (and was) left in  
 pace, oppressus bello, in eo ipso non  
 peace, (but) overtaken by-war, in that same (war) he was not  
 acerbus totus tuus animo ac studio."  
 a severe (opponent), (but) altogether yours in-mind and good-will."  
 Sic solet agi ad judicem;  
 Thus it-is-usual (for the pleadings) to-be-carried-on before a judge;  
 sed ego loquor ad parentem. Erravit, fecit  
 but I am-speaking to a parent. He-has-erred, he-acted  
 temere, poenitet, confugio ad tuam clementiam,  
 rashly, he-repents, I-take-refuge in your clemency,  
 peto veniam delicti; oro, ut ignoscas.  
 I-beg pardon (for) (my) offence; I-pray, that you-pardon (me).  
 Si nemo impetravit,  
 If no-one has-obtained (such favours of you), (it would be)  
 arroganter; si plurimi, tu idem  
 arrogant (in me, thus to address you); (but) if many, you the same  
 fer opem, qui dedisti spem. An non sit  
 bring assistance, who have-given hope. May not there-be  
 causa sperandi Ligario, quum sit etiam locus  
 cause of-hoping to-Ligarius, when there-may-be also a place  
 mihi apud te, deprecandi pro altero? Quamquam  
 for-me before you, of-soliciting for another? Although  
 spes causæ est neque posita in hac  
 the hope 'of (this) 'cause is neither placed in this

oratione, nec in studiis eorum, qui tui  
 oration, nor in the zeal of-those, who (are) your  
 necessarii, petunt a te pro  
 intimate-acquaintances, (and who) entreat of you for

Ligario.

Ligarius. [Who ask pardon of you for Ligarius.]

11. Enim vidi, et cognovi, quid maxime  
 For I-have-seen, and known, what 'you principally

spectares, quum multi laborant pro salute  
 'look-to, when many exert-themselves for the safety

alicujus : causas rogantium esse  
 of-any-one : (that) the cases (of those) entreating-you were

gratiosiores apud te, quàm vultus ;  
 more-acceptable to you, than (their) faces ; (and that)

neque te spectare quàm is esset tuus  
 neither 'do you 'consider how-much he may-be your

necessarius, qui oraret te, sed quàm  
 intimate-friend, who entreats you, but how-much (he is the friend)

illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tu quidem  
 of-him, for whom he-exerts-himself. Therefore you indeed

tribuis tuis ita multa, ut illi interdum  
 grant to-your (friends) so much, that they sometimes

videantur mihi beatiores, qui fruuntur tuâ liberalitate,  
 seem to-me richer, who enjoy your liberality,

quàm tu ipse, qui concedas tam multa illis.  
 than you (are) yourself, who give-up so much to-them

Sed tamen video, ut dixi, causas  
 But however I-perceive, as I-said (before), (that) the cases

plus valere apud te quàm preces,  
 (themselves) 'have more 'weight with you than entreaties,

que te moveri maxime ab iis quorum  
 and (that) you are-moved most-especially by those whose

dolorem, in petendo, videas justissimum.  
 affliction, in petitioning, you-perceive (to be) the truest.

In conservando Q. Ligario, tu quidem facies  
 In preserving Q. Ligarius. you indeed will-do (what

gratum multis tuis necessariis ; sed  
 will be) agreeable to-many (of) your intimate-friends ; but



quæso considera hoc, quod  
 I-treat (you) consider this (affair carefully), (and) which  
 soles. Possum proponere  
 (you-are-accustomed-to-do). I-can place-before-you (as suppliant  
 fortissimos viros, Sabinos probatissimos  
 for Ligarius) the most-brave men, Sabines the-most-approved-of  
 tibi, que totum Sabinum agrum,  
 (and esteemed) by-you, and also the whole Sabine district,  
 florem Italiæ, robur reipublicæ. Nosti  
 the flower of-Italy, (and) the strength of-the-republic. You-have-known  
 homines optime; animadvertite mœstitiam et dolorem  
 the men well; observe the sadness and grief  
 omnium horum. Vides lacrimas que squalorem  
 of-all these. You-see the tears and neglected-dress  
 hujus T. Brocchi ipsius et filii, de quo  
 of-this-here T. Brocchus himself and 'of (his) 'sons, concerning whom  
 non dubito quid existimes. Quid dicam  
 'I-do not 'doubt what you-may-think. What shall-I-say  
 de fratribus? Noli, Cæsar, putare  
 concerning (his) brothers? Do-not, O Cæsar, think (that)  
 nos agere de capite unius;  
 we are-pleading about the capital-punishment of-one-individual;  
 aut tres Ligarii sunt retinendi tibi in civitate,  
 either three Ligarii are to-be-retained (by) you in the city,  
 aut tres exterminandi ex civitate. Quodvis  
 or three are-to-be-banished from the city. Any  
 exsilium est optatius his, quàm patria,  
 banishment is more-desirable to-these, than (their) country,  
 quàm domus, quàm dii penates, illo  
 than (their) home, than (their) household-gods, that (other)  
 uno exsulante. Si faciunt fraterne,  
 one (being) exiled. If they-act fraternally,  
 si pie, si cum dolore, horum  
 if piously, if with grief, 'may their  
 lacrimæ moveant te, pietas moveat,  
 tears 'move you, 'may (their) piety 'move (you), 'may  
 germanitas moveat; illa tua vox  
 (their) fraternal-relationship 'move (you); 'may that your expression

valeat, quæ vicit. Enim audiebamus te dicere  
 'prevail, which conquered. For we-heard you say (that)  
 nos putare omnes adversarios, nisi qui essent  
 we thought ail (to be) enemies, unless those-who were  
 cum nobis; te omnes tuos, qui  
 with us; (but that) you (looked upon) all (as) your-friends, who  
 essent non contra te. Ne igitur vides hunc  
 were not against you. 'Do-you not therefore 'see this  
 splendorem omnium, hanc domum Brocchorum,  
 splendour of-all (the knights), this family of-the-Brocchi,  
 hunc L. Marcium, C. Cæsetium, L. Confidium,  
 this L. Marcius, C. Cæsetium, (and) L. Confidium,  
 omnes hosce Romanos equites, qui adsunt,  
 all these-here Roman knights, who are-present,  
 veste mutata, viros non solùm notos tibi, verum  
 in-mourning-apparel, men not only known to-you, but  
 etiam probatos? Fuerunt cum te.  
 also approved (and esteemed by you)? They-were with you.  
 Atque irascebamur his, requirebamur hos  
 And we-were-angry with-them, we-missed them (from  
 nonnulli etiam minabantur his. Igitur  
 among us), some also were-threatened by-them. Therefore  
 conserva suos tuis; ut quemadmodum  
 preserve their (friends) with-yours; that whereas  
 cetera, quæ dicta sunt a te,  
 the other-things, which have-been-said by you, (have been found to be  
 sic hoc reperiatur  
 true), so this (saying of yours above mentioned) may-be-found (to be)  
 verissimum.  
 most-true.

12. Quòd si posses perspicere penitus  
 For if you-could 'see intimately 'into  
 concordiam Ligariorum, judicares omnes  
 the concord of-the-Ligarii, you-would-think (that) all  
 fratres fuisse cum te. An potest quisquam  
 the brothers were with you. Whether can any-one  
 dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius potuisset esse in  
 doubt, but-that, if Q. Ligarius could-have-been in

Italiâ, fuisset futurus in eadem sententiâ, in qua  
 Italy, he-would-have-been of the same opinion, in which  
 fratres fuerunt? Quis est, qui non  
 (his) brothers were? Who is-there, who 'may not  
 noverit conspirantem consensum, pæne  
 'have-known the agreeing harmony (and dispositions), almost  
 conflatum horum, in hac prope  
 melted-together-into-one of-these (brothers), in this nearly  
 fraternâ æqualitate? qui non sentiat hoc,  
 fraternal equality? who 'does not 'feel this, (that)  
 quivis prius futurum fuisse, quàm ut hi  
 any-thing 'would sooner 'be-about-to-happen, than that these  
 fratres diversas sententias, que sequerentur  
 brothers (would be of) different opinions, and would-follow  
 fortunas? Igitur omnes  
 the fortunes (of different parties)? Therefore all (the brothers)  
 fuerunt cum te voluntate: unus abreptus est  
 were with you in-good-will: one was-forced-away  
 tempestate; qui si fecisset id consilio, esset  
 by-adverse-circumstances; who if he-had-done it by-design, would-be  
 similis eorum, quos tamen tu voluisti esse salvos.  
 like those, whom however you wished to-be safe.  
 Sed ierit ad bellum, discesserit non solùm  
 But if-he-may-have-gone to war, he-departed not only  
 a te, verùm etiam a fratribus, hi  
 from you, but also from (his) brothers, these [his brothers]  
 tui orant te, Equidem, quum  
 your-friends entreat you, (for his pardon). Indeed, when  
 interesssem omnibus tuis negotiis, teneo memoriâ  
 I-was-mixed-up in-all your affairs, I-remember  
 qualis T. Ligarius, urbanus quæstor fuerit tum  
 how T. Ligarius, the city quæstor 'was then  
 erga te et tuam dignitatem. Sed est  
 'disposed towards you and your dignity. But it-is (of)  
 parum me meminisse hoc; spero  
 small (account for) me to-have-remembered this; I-hope (that)  
 te etiam, qui soles oblivisci nihil nisi  
 also, who are-accustomed to-forget nothing unless

injurias, quoniam hoc est  
 injuries, because this (forgetfulness of injuries) is (a part) 'of  
 animi, quoniam etiam tui ingenii,  
 (your) mind, because (it is a part) also of-your disposition,  
 remiscens te recordari aliquid de  
 calling-to-mind (that) you would-remember something concerning  
 illo quæstorio officio hujus, etiam de quibusdam  
 the quæstor office of-that-man, so-also concerning some  
 aliis quæstoribus. Igitur hic T. Ligarius, qui tum  
 other quæstors. Therefore this T. Ligarius, who then  
 nihil aliud egit, (enim neque divinabat  
 'had nothing else 'in-view, (for 'he-did not 'foresee  
 hæc), nisi ut judicares eum  
 these) (present circumstances), unless that you-might-judge him (to be)  
 studiosum tui, et bonum virum, nunc supplex  
 devoted to-you, and a good man, now a suppliant  
 petit salutem fratris a te. Quum admonitus  
 begs-for the safety of-a-brother from you. When being-reminded  
 officio hujus, dederis quam,  
 of-the-services of-him (T. Ligarius), you-will-have-granted this (his  
 utrique his condonaveris  
 safety), to-both these (suppliant brothers), you-will-have-restored  
 tres optimos et integerrimos fratres, non solùm  
 three most-excellent and most-irreproachable brothers, not only  
 sibi ipsos, neque his tot, ac talibus  
 to-themselves, neither to-these so-many, and such (esteemed)  
 viris, neque nobis necessariis, sed etiam  
 men, nor to-us (his) particular-acquaintances, but also  
 reipublicæ. Igitur fac, quod fecisti nuper in  
 to-the-republic. Therefore do, that-which you-did lately in  
 curiâ, de nobilissimo et clarissimo homine,  
 the senate-house, for a most-noble and most-illustrious man,  
 nunc idem in foro, de optimis,  
 [M. Marcellus,] now the same in the forum, for these-most-excellent,  
 et huic omni frequentiæ, probatissimis fratribus.  
 and to-this entire crowded-assembly, most-approved-of brothers.  
 Ut concessisti illum senatui, sic da hunc  
 as you-granted him [Marcellus] to-the-senate, so give this-one



populo, cujus voluntatem  
 [Ligarius] to-the-people, whose good-will (and affections) 'you  
 semper habuisti carissimam; et si ille dies fuit  
 always 'held most-dear; and if that day was  
 gloriosissimus tibi, gratissimus Romano populo;  
 most-glorious to-you, (it was) most-agreeable to-the-Roman people;  
 noli obsecro, C. Cæsar, dubitare quærere  
 do-not I-entreat (you), O C. Cæsar, hesitate to-seeK  
 similem laudem illi gloriæ quàm sæpissime. Nihil  
 a similar praise to-that glory, as often-as-possible. Nothing  
 est tam populare quàm bonitas; nulla de tuis  
 is so popular as kindness; none of your  
 plurimis virtutibus est nec admirabilior, nec  
 many virtues is either more-admirable, or  
 gratior misericordiâ; enim homines  
 more-acceptable, (than your) mercy; for men  
 accedunt propius ad deos nullâ re, quàm  
 approach nearer to the gods in-no-thing (more), than  
 dando salutem hominibus. Nec tua fortuna habet  
 in-giving safety to-men. For your fortune has  
 nihil majus, quàm ut possis, nec natura  
 nothing greater, than that you-can, nor (your) nature (any-thing)  
 melius, quàm ut velis servare quàm plurimos.  
 better, than that you-wish to-save as many (as you can).  
 Causa forsitan postulat longiorem orationem,  
 The cause (itself) perhaps may-require a longer speech,  
 certe tua natura brevior. Quare, quum  
 (but) certainly your nature a shorter-one. Therefore, as  
 arbitrer esse utilius te ipsum loqui,  
 I-think it-to-be more-useful (that) you yourself should-commune  
 quam me aut quemquam  
 (with yourself), than (that) I or any-one-else (should speak)  
 cum te, jam faciam finem;  
 with you, 'I-shall now 'make an end (of my discourse); 'I-shall  
 tantùm admonebo te, si dederis salutem illi  
 only 'remind you, (that) if you-give safety to-him  
 absenti, te daturum omnibus his præsentibus.  
 absent, (that) you will-give-it to-all those present.

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,*  
 PRO  
*FOR*  
 REGE DEIOTARO.  
*KING DEIOTARUS.*

---

1. QUUM in omnibus gravioribus causis, C. Cæsar,  
 Though in all more-important causes, O C. Cæsar,  
 initio dicendi soleam vehe-  
 in-the-beginning 'of (my) 'discourse I-may-be-accustomed (to be) more-  
 mentius commoveri, quàm videatur vel usus,  
 violently agitated, than it-may-seem (that) either practice,  
 vel mea ætas postulare, tum in hac causâ  
 or my age requires, yet in this cause (especially)  
 multa ita perturbant me, ut quantum studii mea  
 many-things so disturb me, that as-much of-zeal (as) my  
 fides afferat mihi ad defendendum  
 good-faith, (and promise,) may-induce me to defend  
 salutem regis Deiotari, tantum facultatis  
 the safety of-king Deiotarus, so-much 'of (my) 'power 'does (my)  
 timor detrahat. Primum dico pro  
 fear 'deprive (me of). In-the-first-place I-am-pleading for  
 capite que fortunis regis; quod ipsum etsi non  
 the life, and fortunes of-a-king; which-thing itself although not  
 iniquum, duntaxat in tuo periculo  
 unjust (or improper), at-least in your danger, (or any thing

tamen est ita inusitatum, regem  
 affecting your interest,) however it-is so unusual-a-thing, for-a-king  
 esse reum capitis, ut ante hoc tempus  
 to-be a defendant in-a-capital-crime, that before this time,  
 non sit auditum. Deinde nunc  
 'it-has not 'been heard-of. In-the-next-place 'I-am now  
 cogor defendere contra atrocissimum  
 compelled to-defend against (the accusation of) the most-atrocious  
 crimen, eum regem, quem antea solebamus cum  
 crime, that king, whom heretofore we-used, with  
 cuncto senatu ornare, pro ejus perpetuis meritis  
 all the senate to-honour, for his uninterrupted services  
 in nostram rempublicam. Accedit, ut  
 towards our republic. (And to this) is-added, that  
 conturber crudelitate alterius accusatorum,  
 I-am-disturbed by-the-cruelty of-one of-the-accusers, (and)  
 indignitate alterius. Crudelis Castor, ne dicam  
 by-the-baseness of-the-other. O cruel Castor, not (to) say  
 scelus et impium! qui, nepos, adduxerit  
 wicked and impious! who, a grandson, has-brought (his)  
 avum in discrimen capitis, que intulerit  
 grandfather in danger 'of (his) 'life, and brought  
 terrorem suæ adolescentiæ ei,  
 the terror of-his youth to-him, [and caused his grandfather  
 cujus senectutem debebat tueri  
 to fear him quite a youth,] whose old-age he-ought to-defend  
 et tegere, que duxerit commendationem  
 and protect, and (who) has-derived the commendation 'of (his)  
 ineuntis ætatis ab impietate et scelere; impulerit  
 'early age by impiety and wickedness; he-impelled  
 servum avi, corruptum præmiis, ad  
 the slave 'of (his) 'grandfather, corrupted by-bribes, to  
 accusandum dominum, abduxerit a  
 accuse (his) master, (and) he-led-him-away from  
 pedibus legatorum.  
 the feet of-the-ambassadors [and took him from the service of the am-  
 Autem quum videbam os,  
 bassadors of the King] But when I-saw the countenance,

quum audiebam verba fugitivi accusantis  
 when I-heard the words 'of (this) 'runaway accusing (his)  
 domirum, et absentem dominum, et dominum  
 master, and an absent master, and a master  
 amicissimum nostræ reipublicæ, non tam dolebam  
 most-friendly to-our republic, not so-much did-I-grieve-at  
 afflictam regiam conditionem, quàm extimescebam  
 the afflicted royal condition, as I-feared  
 de communibus fortunis. Nam quum  
 concerning the common fortunes [general safety]. For when  
 more majorum, ne liceat de  
 according-to-the-usage of-our-ancestors, 'it-is not 'allowed as-respects  
 servo quæri in dominum, quidem  
 a slave, (that) he-be-examined against (his) master, even  
 tormentis, in quâ quæstione dolor possit  
 by-torture, in which examination (by torture) pain might  
 elicere veram vocem etiam ab invito;  
 elicit the true word [the truth] even from the unwilling;  
 servus exortus est, qui solutus accuset  
 (but here) a slave rose-up, who unrestrained accuses  
 eum, quem in equuleo posset non  
 him, whom on the rack he-could not  
 appellare.  
 make-mention-of (accuse).

## 2. Etiam illud

interdum,

Also that (which I am now going to mention) sometimes,

C. Cæsar, perturbat me; quod tamen, quum  
 O C. Cæsar, disquiets me; which however, as  
 recognovi te penitùs, desino timere; enim re  
 I-have-known you well, I-cease to-fear; for in-principle  
 est iniquum, sed tua sapientiâ fit æquissimum.  
 it-is unjust, but by-your wisdom it-becomes most-just.  
 Nam dicere apud eum de facinore, contra cujus  
 For to-plead before him of a crime, against whose  
 vitam, arguare inisse consilium facinoris,  
 life, you-may-be-accused to-have-entered-into a plan of-crime,  
 si consideres per se ipsum, est grave;  
 & you-consider (this) by itself, it-is (a) serious



enim est fere nemo, qui  
 (and unpleasant affair); for there-is almost no-one, who (being)  
 judex sui periculi, non præbeat se æquiores  
 judge of-his-own danger, 'does not 'show himself more-favourable  
 sibi, quam reo. Sed, Cæsar, tua præstans  
 to-himself, than to-the-defendant. But, O Cæsar, your excellent  
 que singularis natura minuit hunc metum  
 and singular (good) natural-disposition diminishes this fear  
 mihi; enim non timeo tam, quid tu  
 (in) me; for 'I-do not fear so-much, what you (may judge)  
 de Deiotaro, quam intelligo, quid velis  
 concerning Deiotarus, as I-understand, what you-wish (that)  
 ceteros judicare de te. Etiam  
 others judge of you, (as an impartial judge). 'I-am also  
 moveor insolentiâ loci ipsius, quod dico  
 'moved by-the-unusualness of-the-place itself, that I-plead  
 tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam  
 such (and so great) a cause, as never yet  
 versata est in disceptatione, intra domesticos  
 was in dispute, [on trial,] within domestic  
 parietes, dico extra conventum et  
 walls, I-plead without the assembly (and out of court), and  
 eam frequentiam, in quâ studia oratorum  
 (without) that numerous-assemblage, on which the exertions of-orators  
 solent niti: in tuis oculis, tuo ore  
 are-accustomed to-depend: (it is) in your eyes, your counterance  
 que vultu acquiesco; intueor  
 and face (alone, that) I-am-pleased (and cease to fear); I-behold  
 te unum; omnis mea oratio spectat ad te unum.  
 you alone; all my speech (is) directed to you alone.  
 Quæ sunt gravissima mihi ad spem obtinendæ  
 Which-things are most-weighty for-me for the hope of-obtaining  
 veritatis, ad motum animi, et ad omnem  
 the truth, (but) for the excitement of-the-mind, and for all  
 impetum dicendi que contentionem leviora.  
 the force of-speaking and controversy lighter (and em-  
 Enim si, C. Cæsar, dicerem hanc causam  
 barrassing). For if, O C. Cæsar, I-were-to-plead this cause

in foro, te eodem audiente et disceptante,  
in the forum, you the same hearing and deciding,

quantam alacritatem concursus  
what alacrity (and excitement) 'would the concourse

Romani populi afferret mihi! Enim quis civis  
of-the-Roman people 'bring to-me! For what citizen

non faveret ei regi, omnem cujus ætatem  
'would not 'favour that king, all whose life

meminisset esse consumptam in bellis Romani  
he-would-have-remembered to-have-spent in the wars of-the-Roman

populi? Spectarem curiam, intuerer forum,  
people? I-would-see the-senate-house, I-would-look-over the forum,

denique testarer cœlum ipsum. Sic quum  
in-fine 'I-might-call heaven itself 'to-witness. Thus when

recordarer beneficia et immortalium deorum,  
I-might-have-recalled the kindness both of-the-immortal gods,

et Romani populi, et senatûs in regem  
and of-the-Roman people, and of-the-senate towards king

Deiotarum, posset nullo modo oratio deesse mihi.  
Deiotarus, there-could in-no wise a speech be-wanting to-me.

Quoniam parietes faciunt quæ  
(And) because the walls (of the house) make these-things

angustiora, que actio maximæ causæ  
more-narrow (and difficult), and the pleading of-a-great cause

debilitatur loco, est tuum, Cæsar, qui sæpe  
is-weakened by-the-place, it-is your (part), O Cæsar, who 'have often

dixisti, pro multis, referre ad te ipsum, quid  
'pleaded for many, to-refer to your self, what 'may

nunc sit mihi animi; quo facilius quum  
now 'be my state-of-mind; whereby the more-easily as-well

tua æquitas tum diligentia audiendi  
your justice as (your) diligent-attention (in) listening

minuat hanc meam perturbationem. Sed antequam  
may-lessen this my embarrassment. But before

dico de accusatione ipsâ, dicam  
I-say (any thing) concerning the accusation itself, I-shall-say

pauca de spe accusatorum. Qui quum  
a few-words concerning the hope of-the-accusers. Who when

videantur, nec ingenio, nec usu  
 they-may-seem, neither 'by (their) 'talents, nor by-practice  
 atque exercitatione rerum valere,  
 and experience (in) affairs (of this kind) to-be-of-any-account,  
 tamen non venerunt ad hanc causam sine  
 yet 'they-did not 'come to this cause without  
 aliquâ spe, et cogitatione.  
 some hope, and reflection (on the subject).

3. Non erant nescii, te iratum  
 'They-were not 'ignorant, (that) you were-  
 fuisse regi Deiotaro; meninerant illum  
 angry (with) king Deiotarus; they-had-remembered (that) he  
 affectum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis,  
 suffered some inconveniences and losses,  
 propter offensionem tui animi; que  
 on-account-of the displeasure of-your mind (towards him); and  
 quum cognoverant te iratum huic,  
 when they-had-known (that) you were-angry (with) him,  
 tum esse amicum sibi; que quum  
 as-well-as (that you) were friendly to-themselves; and when  
 dicirent apud te ipsum de tuo periculo,  
 they spoke with you yourself (privately) concerning your danger,  
 putabant, ut fictum crimen facile insideret  
 they-thought, that a fictitious crime would easily lodge  
 in exulcerato animo.  
 (and fix itself) in a sore, (and irritated) mind.  
 Quamobrem, Cæsar, libera nos primum hoc metu,  
 Wherefore, O Cæsar, deliver us first from-this fear,  
 per fidem et constantiam, et per tuam  
 by (your) good-faith and firmness, and by your  
 clementiam, ne suspicemur ullam  
 clemency, (so that) we-may not suspect, (that) any  
 partem iracundiæ residere in te. Oro te per  
 portion of-anger remains in you. I-entreat you by  
 istam dexteram, quam hospes porrexisti  
 that right-hand (of yours), which 'you a guest 'reached-forth  
 regi Deiotaro hospiti; istam dexteram, inquam,  
 to-king-Deiotarus (your) host; that right hand, I-say,

non tam firmiorem in bellis, nec in præliis,  
 (which is) not even more-firm in wars, or in battles,  
 quam in promissis et fide. Tu voluisti inire  
 than in promises and in-good-faith. You have-chosen to-enter

domum, et tu renovari vetus  
 (his) house, and you (desired) to-renew (your) old

hospitium; ejus dii penates  
 bond-of-hospitality-and-friendship; his household-gods

acceperunt te; aræ que foci regis Deiotari  
 have-received you; the altars and hearths of-king Deiotarus

viderunt te amicum et placatum. Quum, Cæsare,  
 have-seen you friendly and appeased. As, O Cæsar,

soles facile exorari, tum  
 you-are-accustomed 'to-be easily 'entreated (to forgive), so

exorari semel;  
 (you are used) to-be-entreated, (and to forgive) once (and for ever);

nemo unquam, inimicus, placavit te,  
 no-one ever, (being) an-enemy, appeased you, (and became

qui senserit resedissee ulla  
 reconciled to you), who might-perceive (that) there remained any

reliquias simultatis in te. Quamquam cui  
 rest of-resentment in you. However to-whom 'have

tuæ querelæ cum Deiotaro inauditæ sunt?  
 your complaints (and expostulations) with Deiotarus 'been-unheard-of?

Tu nunquam accusavisti illum ut hostem, sed ut  
 You never accused him as an-enemy, but as

amicum, parum functum officio, quod  
 a friend, but little discharging the duty (of friendship), because

fuisset propensior in amicitiam Cn. Pompeii quam in  
 he-was more inclined to the friendship of-Cn. Pompey than to

tuam. Tamen dicebas te daturum fuisses  
 your-friendship. Yet you-said (that) you would-have-granted

veniam cui ipsi rei, si tantum misisset  
 pardon for-this same thing, if 'he-had only 'sent

auxilia Pompeio, vel si etiam filium,  
 assistance to-Pompey, or if even (he had sent) (his) son (to him),

ipse usus esset excusatione ætatis.  
 'and he-himself 'made-use (of) the excuse 'of (his) 'old-age



Ita quum liberares eum maximis rebus,  
 So-that when you-acquitted him (of) the principal things,  
 relinquebas perparvam culpam amicitiae.  
 you-left (only) the-very-small blame (respecting his) friendship.

Itaque non solùm non animadvertisti in eum,  
 Therefore not only 'dilt-you not 'punish him,

sed liberavisti omni metu, agnovisti  
 but you-released (him) from-all fear, you acknowledged

hospitem, reliquisti regem.  
 the-bond-of-hospitality, (and) you-left (him) a king.

#### 4. Enim neque ille progressus

For neither (did) he proceed (in this affair)

odio tui, sed lapsus est communi errore.  
 through-hatred of-you, but he-fell (into) the common error

Is rex, quem senatus sæpe appellavisset  
 (of us all). This king, whom the senate 'had often 'called

hoc nomine honorificentissimis decretis, que qui,  
 by-this title in-the-most-honourable decrees, and who

quum ab adolescentiâ duxisset illum ordinem  
 as 'he-had from (his) youth 'considered that order

gravissimum que sanctissimum,  
 (of the senate) the most-respectable and most-sacred,

perturbatus est iisdem rebus, quibus nos,  
 was-perplexed (and led astray) by-the-same things, by-which we,

nati in mediâ republicâ, que semper versati,  
 born in the midst (of) the republic, and always residing-therein,

homo longinquus et alienigena.  
 (were), (though he was) a man (living) far-off and a foreigner.

Quum audiret arma sumpta auctoritate  
 When he-heard (that) arms had-been-taken by-the-authority

consentientis senatûs; rempublicam datam  
 of-the-consenting senate; (that) the republic was-given

defendendam consulibus, prætoribus, tribunis plebis,  
 to-be-defended by-the-consuls, the prætors, the tribunes of-the-people,

nobis imperatoribus, move-  
 (and) to-us (who had received the title of) imperator, he-was-

batur animo, et vir, amicissimus huic imperio,  
 troubled in-mind, and a man, most-friendly to-this empire,

**extimescebat** de salute Romani populi, in qua  
 feared-greatly for the safety of-the-Roman people, in which  
**etiam videbat** suam esse inclusam; tamen  
 also he-perceived (that) his-own (safety) was-included; however  
**in summo timore arbitrabatur** esse sibi  
 in the greatest fear he-thought (it) to-be (best) for-himself  
**quiescendum.** Vero maxime perturbatus est,  
 to-remain-quiet. But 'he-was greatly 'distressed,  
**ut audivit** consules profugisse ex Italiâ, que  
 when he-heard (that) the consuls had-fled from Italy, and  
**omnes** consulares (enim sic nuntiabatur ei),  
 all (those of) consular-rank (for so it-was-announced to-him),  
**cunctum senatum,** totam Italiam effu-  
 (also) the entire senate, (and that) all Italy was-  
**sam esse;** enim via patebat ad Orientem, talis  
 dispersed; for the road was-open to the East, for-such  
**nuntiis et rumoribus,** nec ulli veri  
 messengers and reports, nor 'did any true (accounts)  
**sequebantur.** Audiebat nihil de tuis conditio-  
 'follow. He-heard nothing concerning your propo-  
**nibus,** nihil de studio concordiae et pacis,  
 sitions, nothing concerning (your) desire of-concord and of-peace,  
**nihil de** conspiratione certorum hominum  
 nothing concerning the conspiracy of-certain men  
**contra tuam dignitatem.** Quæ quum essent ita,  
 against your dignity. Which-things when they-were so,  
**tamen tenuit se** usque eò, quoad  
 yet-however he-kept himself (quiet) till that (time), that  
**legati** que literæ venerunt ad eum a Cn.  
 ambassadors and letters came to him from Cn.  
**Pompeio.** Ignosce, ignosce, Cæsar, si rex Deiotarus  
 Pompey. Pardon, pardon, O Cæsar, if king Deiotarus  
**cessit auctoritati** ejus viri, quem nos omnes  
 yielded to-the-authority of-that man, whom we all  
**secuti sumus;** ad quem quum dii atque homines  
 have-followed; on whom when gods and mer  
**congressissent omnia ornamenta,** tum tu ipse  
 have-heaped all honours, so-also you yourself (have

plurima et maxima. Enim neque,  
conferred) many and very-great (favours on him). For neither,

si tuæ res gestæ attulerunt obscuritatem laudibus  
if your deeds have-brought obscurity to-the-praise

ceterorum, idcirco amissimus memoriam  
(and renown) of-others, 'have-we therefore 'lost the remembrance

Cn. Pompeii. Quis ignorat quantum ejus nomen  
of-Cn. Pompey. Who is-ignorant how-great his name

fuerit, quantæ opes, quanta  
(and renown) was, how-great (his) power (and influence), how-great

gloria in omni genere bellorum, quanti honores  
(his) glory in all kinds of-wars, how-great the honours

Romani populi, quanti senatûs,  
(received from) the Roman people, how-great (from) the senate,

quanti tui? Ille tantò vicerat superiores  
how-great (from) yourself? He so-much surpassed (his) predecessors

gloriâ, quantò tu præstitisti omnibus  
in-glory (and renown), as you have-excelled all-men.

Itaque admirantes numerabamus bella, victorias,  
Therefore admiring we-counted the wars, the victories,

triumphos, consulatus Cn. Pompeii; tuos possumus  
the triumphs, the consulships of-Cn. Pompey; (but) yours we-can

non enumerare.

not count.

5. Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit, hoc  
To him therefore king Deiotarus came, in-this

misero que fatali bello, quem antea adjuverat  
miserable and fatal war, whom before he-had-assisted 'in (his)

justis hostilibus bellis, cum quo erat conjunctus  
'regular foreign wars, with whom he-was united

non solùm hospitio, verùm etiam  
not only by-the-bonds-of-hospitality, but also

familiaritate, et venit vel rogatus, ut amicus,  
by familiar-acquaintance, and he-came either asked, as a friend.

vel arcessitus, ut socius, vel evocatus, ut is qui  
or requested, as an ally, or called-out, as one who

didicisset parere senatui; postremò venit ut ad  
had-learned to-obey the senate; in-fine he-came as to

fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est ad  
 one-flying, not as to one-pursuing, that is to  
 societatem periculi, non ad victoriæ. Itaque,  
 the companionship of-danger, not to (that) of-victory. Therefore,  
 proelio Pharsalico facto, discedit a  
 the battle (of) Pharsalicus being-determined, he-departed from  
 Pompeio; noluit persequi infinitam  
 Pompey; he-did-not-wish to-follow endless (and uncertain)  
 spem; duxit satisfactum esse vel officio,  
 hopes; he-considered (that) he-had-discharged either (his) duty,  
 si debuerat quid, vel errori, si  
 if he-owed any, or (had atoned for) error, if  
 nescierat quid; contulit se domum, atque, te  
 he-had-mistaken any-thing; he-retuned home, and, you  
 gerente Alexandrinum bellum, paruit tuis  
 carrying-on the Alexandrine war, he-consulted your  
 utilitatibus. Ille sustentavit exercitum Cn. Domitii,  
 interests. He supported the-army of-Cn. Domitius,  
 amplissimi viri suis tectis et copiis;  
 a-most-illustrious man in-his houses and 'with (his) 'means; [he gave  
 ille misit pecuniam  
 quarters and supplies to his army;] he sent money  
 Ephesum ad eum, quem tu delegisti ex omnibus  
 to-Ephesus to him, whom you had-selected from all  
 tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum; ille  
 your (friends, as) the-most-faithful and most-esteemed; he  
 iterum, ille tertio dedit pecuniam, quâ  
 a second-time, he a third-time gave money (to him), which  
 uterere ad bellum, auctionibus  
 you-might-use for the war, public-sales (of his property)  
 factis; ille objecit suum corpus periculo, fuit cum  
 being-made; he exposed his person to-danger, he-was with  
 te in acie contra Pharnacem, que dixit tuum  
 you in battle against Pharnaces, and he-considered your  
 hostem esse suum. Quæ quidem, Cæsar,  
 enemy to-be his. Which-things indeed, O Cæsar,  
 accepta sunt a te in eam partem, ut  
 were accepted by you in that (good) part, that



affeceris eum amplissimo honore, et  
 you-rewarded him with-the-most-ample honours, and  
 nomine regis. Is igitur, non modò liberatus a  
 with-the-name of-king. He therefore, not only freed by  
 te periculo, sed etiam ornatus amplissimo  
 you from-danger, but also invested (by you) with-the-most-ample  
 honore, arguitur, voluisse interficere te suæ  
 honours, is-accused, to-have-desired to-kill you in-his-own  
 domi. Quod tu, nisi judices eum furiosissimum,  
 house. Which you, unless you-suppose him a-most-furious  
 potes non profectò suspicari. Enim ut  
 (madman) can not at-all suspect. For that  
 omittam, tanti sceleris fuerit cujus,  
 I-may-omit, [of] how-great a crime it-would-have-been of-him,  
 in conspectu penatium deorum, necare  
 in the-sight 'of (his) 'household gods, to-kill  
 hospitem; tantæ importunitatis cujus extinguere  
 a-guest; [of] how-great the audacity of-him to-extinguish  
 clarissimum lumen omnium gentium, atque omnis  
 the brightest light of-all nations, and of-all  
 memoriæ; tantæ ferocitatis cujus non  
 remembrance; [of] how-great the ferocity of-him not  
 extimescere victorem orbis terrarum; tam  
 to-fear the conquerer of-the-world; 'of the so  
 inhumani et ingrati animi cujus inveniri  
 'inhuman and ungrateful mind of-him (as) to-be-found  
 tyrannum in eo, a quo appellatus esset rex;  
 a tyrant towards him, by whom he-was-called king;  
 ut omittam hæc, tanti furoris fuit  
 that I-may-omit these-things, [of] how-great the frenzy would-be  
 hujus, excitare contra se unum omnes reges,  
 of-him, to-excite against himself alone all the kings,  
 quorum erant multi finitimi, omnes liberos  
 of-whom there-were many 'on his 'frontiers, all free  
 populos, omnes socios, omnes provincias, denique  
 people, all the allies, all the provinces, in-fine  
 arma omnium? Quonam modo ille  
 the arms of-all-people? How 'would he

distractus esset, cum regno, cum domo,  
 'have-been-at-variance, with (his) kingdom, with (his) house,  
 cum conjuge, cum carrissimo filio, non  
 with (his) wife, (and) with (his) beloved son, not  
 modò perfecto tanto scelere, sed etiam  
 only having-accomplished so-great a crime, but even  
 cogitato?  
 having-thought-of-it?

6. At, credo inconsultus et temerarius homo  
 But, I-suppose the inconsiderate and rash man  
 non videbat hæc. Quis consideratior  
 'did not 'see these-things. (But) who more-considerate (than)  
 illo? quis tectior? quis prudentior? Quamquam  
 he? who more-circumspect? who more-prudent? Though  
 hoc loco puto, Deiotarum defendendum non  
 in-this place I-think, (that) Deiotarus is-to-be-defended not  
 tam ingenio et prudentiâ, quàm  
 so-much 'for (his) 'talents and prudence, as 'for (his)  
 fide, et religione vitæ. Probitas  
 'good-faith, and religious-conscientiousness of-life. The-probity  
 hominis est nota tibi, C. Cæsar, mores noti,  
 of-the-man is known to-you, O C. Cæsar, (his) manners are-known  
 constantia nota. Cui porro,  
 (to you, his) constancy is-known (to you). To-whom moreover,  
 qui modò audivit nomen Romani populi non  
 who 'has only 'heard the name of-the-Roman people 'is not  
 integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides Deiotari  
 the honesty, weight-of-character, virtue, (or) good-faith of-Deiotarus  
 audita est? quod facinus igitur posset nec cadere  
 'known? which crime therefore could neither happen  
 in imprudentem hominem, propter metum præsentis  
 to an imprudent man, on-account-of the fear of-present  
 exitii, nec in facinorosum, nisi idem esset  
 destruction, nor to the-most-wicked-man, unless the-same were  
 amentissimus, id confingitis cogitatum esse ab  
 the most-foolish, this you-suppose to-have-been-thought-on by  
 homine minime stulto. At quam non  
 a man (not in) the least foolish. But this (you present) not

modò non credibiliter, sed quidem ne  
 only not in-a-credible-manner, but indeed not (ever,  
 suspiciose! Quum inquit,  
 in-a-suspicious-manner! When 'he, the accuser, 'says, (that)  
 venisses in castellum Luceium, et devertisses  
 you-had-come to the castle Luceium, and you-had-turned-aside  
 domum regis tui hospitis, erat quidam  
 to-the-palace of-the-king your host, there-was a certain  
 locus, in quo erant ea composita quibus rex  
 place, in which were those arranged-things which the king  
 constituerat munerare te. Volebat ducere  
 had-determined to-offer-as-presents to-you. He-desired to-conduct  
 te huc a balneo, priusquam  
 you thither (on coming) from the-bath, before  
 accumberes. Enim erant ibi armati  
 you-reclined-at-table. For there-were there armed-men  
 collocati in eo ipso loco, qui interficerent te.  
 stationed in that same place, who were-to-have-killed you.  
 En crimen, en causa, cur fugitivus  
 Behold the accusation, behold the reason, why a runaway  
 servus accuset regem dominum. Ego mehercules,  
 slave should-accuse the king (his) master. I by-Hercules,  
 Cæsar, initio, quum ista causa delata est ad  
 O Cæsar, in-the-beginning, when this cause was-brought to  
 me, percussus sum hac suspicione, Phidippum,  
 me, was-struck with-this suspicion, (that) Phidippus,  
 medicum, regium servum, qui missus esset cum  
 the physician, (and) royal slave, who had-been-sent with  
 legatis, corruptum esse ab isto adolescente  
 the ambassadors, had-been-corrupted by this young-man.  
 Subornavit medicum indicem;  
 He-has-suborned (thought I) the physician (as) an informer; 'he-will  
 videlicet finget aliquod crimen veneni. Etsi longe  
 certainly 'invent some crime of-poison, Although far  
 a veritate, tamen res non  
 from the truth, yet the affair (of my conjecture) 'was not  
 multum abhorrebat a consuetudine  
 much 'opposed to, (or at variance) (with) the-usual-practice

**criminandi.** Quid ait medicus? Nihil de  
of-accusing. What says the physician? Nothing about

**veneno.** At primò id potuit fieri occultius  
poison. But firstly it could have-been-done more-secretly

in potione, in cibo; deinde etiam  
in drink, (or) in food; next also (it could have)

fit impunius, quod quum factum est, potest  
been-done more-impunibly, because when it-is-done, it-can

**negari.** Si interemisset te palam, convertisset  
be-denied. If he-had-killed you openly, he-would-have-brought

in se non solùm odia omnium gentium, sed  
on himself not only the hatred of-all nations, but

etiam arma; si veneno, ille quidem potuisset  
also (their) arms; if by-poison, he indeed could

nunquam celare numen Jovis  
never have-concealed (this deed from) the divinity of-Jupiter

hospitalis, fortasse celasset  
(the God of) hospitality, (though) perhaps he-might-have-concealed

homines. Igitur quod et potuit conari  
(it from) men. Therefore that-which 'he both 'might attempt

occultius, et efficere cautius, non credidit  
more-secretly, and execute more-cautiously, 'he-did not 'confide

id tibi, et callido medico, et, ut putabat, fideli  
it to-you, both a skilful physician, and, as he-thought, faithful

servo? noluit celare te de  
slave? (but) would-not conceal (from) you (his designs) respecting

armis, de ferro, de insidiis? At quàm  
arms, respecting swords, (and) respecting ambushes? But how

festive crimen contextitur! Tua fortuna,  
finely 'is the accusation 'put-together! Your good-fortune,

inquit, eadem, quæ semper, servavit te;  
says-he, the same, which always (did, now also) saved you;

negavisti, te velle tum inspicere.  
you-disavowed, (that) you wished then to examine (the presents).

7. Quid postea? an Deiotarus continuò  
What afterwards? whether did Deiotarus immediately

dimisit exercitum, re  
dismiss (his) army, the affair (of assassinating)



non illo tempore perfectâ? erat nullus alius  
not 'being at-that time 'completed? was-there no other

locus insidiandi? At dixeras, te rediturum  
place of-forming-ambuscades? But you-said, (that) you would-return

eodem quum cœnavisses; itaque fecisti.  
to-the-same-place when you-had-supped; therefore you-did (it).

Fuit magnum retinere armatos, ut  
Was-it (such) a great (thing) to-retain the armed-men, as

collocati fuerant, unam horam aut duas  
they-had-been-stationed, one hour or two (hours longer)

eodem loco? Quum fuisses,  
in-the-same place? When you-had-been, [When you had spent

comiter et jucunde in convivio, tum  
your time,] cheerfully and agreeably at the banquet, then

isti illuc, ut dixeras. In quo loco cognovisti  
you-went there, as you-had-said. In which place you-perceived

Deiotarum talem erga te, qualis rex Attalus  
Deiotarus (to be) the same towards you, as king Attalus

fuit in P. Africanum; cui, ut legimus scriptum,  
was towards P. Africanus; to-whom, as we-read (it) recorded,

misit magnificentissima dona, ex Asiâ usque ad  
he-sent most-magnificent presents, from Asia even to

Numantiam; quæ Africanus accepit, exercitu  
Numantis; which Africanus accepted, the army

inspectante, quod quum Deiotarus præsens  
looking on, which when Deiotarus present (and in person)

fecisset et regio animo et more, tu discessisti  
had-done both with-a-royal mind and manner, you departed

in cubiculum. Obsecro, Cæsar, repete  
to (your) sleeping-apartment. I-beseech (you), O Cæsar, recall

memóriam illius temporis, pone illum diem ante  
the remembrance of-those times, place that day before

oculos, recordare vultus hominum  
(your) eyes, remember the countenances of-the-men

intuentium te, atque admirantium. Num quæ  
looking-on you, and admiring (you). Now what

trepidatio? num qui tumultus? num quid  
the trepidation? now what the tumult? was-there any-thing (done)

nisi moderate, nisi quiete, nisi ex disciplinâ  
unless moderately, unless quietly, unless by the-regulation

gravissimi et sanctissimi hominis? Igitur  
of-a-most-dignified and most-venerable man? Therefore

quid causæ potest excogitari, cur voluerit  
what [of] reason can be-imagined, why did-he-wish

occidere te lotum, noluerit  
to-kill you after-having-bathed, (but) did-not-wish (to kill you)

cœnatum? Inquit distulit in posterum  
after-having-suppered? 'He, says (the accuser), 'put-it-off to the next

diem, ut quum ventum esset in castellum  
day, tha. when he-had-come to the castle (of)

Luceium, ibi perficeret cogitata.  
Luceius, (t. et) there he-might-accomplish (his) designs. 'I-do

Non videt causam mutandi loci; sed tamen  
not 'tæe the reason of-changing the place; but however

res acta est criminose. Quum,  
the affair was brought-forward in-a-criminating-manner. When,

inquit dixisses te velle vomere  
'he (the accuser), says (that) you-had-said, (that) you desired to-vomit

post cœnum, cœperunt ducere te in  
[take an emetic] after supper, they-began to-lead you to

balneum; enim ibi insidiæ erant.  
the bath-room; for there the ambushes (of soldiers) were (placed)

At illa eadem fortuna tua servavit te;  
But that same good-fortune (of) yours saved you; (for)

dixisti malle in cubiculo.  
you-said (that) you-preferred (doing it) in (your) sleeping apartment.

Dii perduint te, fugitive! es non  
'May the gods 'destroy you, O runaway (slave)! you-are not

modò ita nequam et improbus, sed etiam fatuus et  
only so wicked and corrupt, but also a fool and

amens; quid? ille posuerat ænea signa in  
senselessly (stupid); what? 'had he 'placed brazen statues in

insidiis, quæ possent non transferri e balneo  
ambush, which could not be-transferred from the bath-room

in cubiculum? Habes crimen  
in (his) sleeping-apartment? You-have (the whole) accusation

insidiarum; enim dixit nihil amplius; horum  
 of-ambuscades; for he-said nothing more; of-all-these-things  
 inquit eram conscius. Quid tum? erat ille ita  
 he-says I-was privy. What then? was he so  
 demens, ut dimitteret a se eum, quem  
 senseless, that he-should-send from himself him, (to) whom  
 haberet conscium tanti sceleris? Etiam  
 he-had (intrusted) the knowledge of-so-great a crime? Also (that)  
 mitteret Romam, ubi sciret et  
 he-should-send (him) to Rome, where he-might-know (that) both  
 suum inimicissimum nepotem esse, et C. Cæsarem,  
 his inimical grandson was, and C. Cæsar,  
 cui fecisset insidiis? præsertim quum is  
 for whom he-had-placed ambuscades? especially when he  
 esset unus, qui posset judicare de  
 (Phidippus) was the only-one, who could give-testimony concerning  
 se absente? Et inquit, coniecit meos fratres in  
 himself absent? And says he, he-threw my brothers into  
 vincula, quod erant conscii.  
 prison, because (they also) were acquainted (with the affair).  
 Igitur quum vinciret eos, quos habebat cum se,  
 Therefore when he-bound those, whom he-had with himself,  
 mittebat te solutum Romam, qui scires eadem,  
 he-sent you unbound to-Rome, who know the-same-things,  
 quæ dicis illos scire?  
 which you-say (that) they know?

8. Reliqua pars accusationis fuit duplex;  
 The remaining part of-the-accusation was twofold;

una regem fuisse semper in speculis,  
 the one (that) the king was always in the-watch-towers, (on

quum animo esset alieno a te; altera  
 the look-out), as in-mind he-was estranged from you; the other

eum comparasse magnum exercitum contra  
 (that) he had-assembled a great army against

te. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cetera.  
 you. Concerning the army I-shall-speak briefly, as the rest.

Rex Deiotarus nunquam habuit eas copias, quibus  
 King Deiotarus never had those forces, with-which

posset inferre bellum Romano populo; sed  
 he-could wage war against the Roman people; but (only  
 quibus tueretur suos finos ab  
 those) by which he-might-protect his territories from  
 excursionibus et latrociniiis, et mitteret auxilia  
 incursions and armed-robbery, and might-send auxiliaries  
 nostris imperatoribus. Atque quidem antea poterat  
 to-our commanders. And indeed formerly he-could  
 alere majores copias; nunc potest vix tueri  
 maintain greater forces; now he-can scarcely support  
 exiguas. At misit ad Cæcilium, nescio  
 very-small (forces). But he-sent to Cæcilius, I-know-not  
 quem; sed conjecit eos, quos misit in vincula,  
 whom; but he-threw those, whom he-had-sent into prison,  
 quod noluerunt ire. Non quæro quàm  
 because they-would-not go. 'I-do not 'inquire how  
 verisimile sit, regem aut habuisset non  
 likely it-may-be, (that) the king either had not  
 quos mitteret, aut eos, quos misisset,  
 those-whom he-might-send, or (that) those, whom he-had-sent,  
 non paruisse; aut qui fuissent non  
 (should) not have-obeyed; or those-who were not  
 audientes dicto, in tantâ re, eos  
 obedient, in so-great an-affair, (that) they (should)  
 potius vinctos quàm necatos. Sed tamen  
 rather be-put-in-prison than killed. But however  
 quum mittebat ad Cæcilium, utrum nesciebat  
 when he-was-sending to Cæcilius, whether he-did-not-know  
 illam causam victam esse, an putabat  
 (that) the cause (of Pompey) was-defeated, whether did-he-think  
 istum Cæcilium magnum hominem? quem profectò  
 this Cæcilius (to be) a great man? whom certainly,  
 is, qui optimè novit nostros homines, contemneret,  
 he, who well knew our men, would-have-despised,  
 vel quia nosset vel quia non nosset.  
 either because he-knew (him), or because 'he-did not 'know (him).  
 Addit etiam illud, non misisse optimos  
 He-adds also this, he-had not 'sent the best



equites; credo, Cæsar,  
 cavalry (to Cæsar); I-believe, O Cæsar, (that they were)  
 nihil ad tuum equitatum; sed misit  
 nothing (as compared) to your cavalry; but he-sent  
 delectos ex iis, quos habuit. At nescio  
 the best of those, which he-had. But I-know-not (says he)  
 quem ex eo numero judicatum  
 whom [what particular one] of that number (was) a condemned  
 servum. Non  
 slave. [A person sentenced to slavery for his crimes.] 'I-do not  
 arbitror; non audiui; sed in eo, etiam si  
 'believe (it); 'I-have 'not 'heard-of (it); but in this, even if  
 accidisset, arbiträrer fuisse nullam culpam  
 it-had-happened, I-may-believe (that) it-was no fault  
 regis.  
 of-the-king.

9. Autem quomodo animo alieno a te?  
 But how (was he) in-mind alienated from you?  
 Credo speravit  
 (or in what respect was he inimical to you)? I-believe he-hoped, (that)  
 exitus Alexandræ fore difficiles tibi,  
 the departure from Alexandria would-be difficult to-you,  
 propter naturam regionum, et fluminis. At  
 on-account-of the nature of-the-place, and of-the-river. But  
 eo ipso tempore dedit pecuniam,  
 at-that same time he-gave money (to your officers, and)  
 aluit exercitum; defuit in  
 'supplied (your) army 'with the necessaries of life; he-was-wanting in  
 nullâ re ei, quem  
 nothing, (as respects supplying, and assisting) him, whom  
 præfeceras Asiæ; fuit presto non  
 you-had-placed-over Asia; he-was ready (in aiding you) not  
 solium ad hospitium, sed etiam ad periculum,  
 only as-respects hospitality, but also as-respects danger,  
 atque ad aciem. Africanum bellum secutum est;  
 and as-respects battle. The African war followed;  
 graves rumores de te; qui etiam  
 (there were) distressing rumours concerning you; which also

**excitaverunt** illum furiosum Cæcilium. **Quæ**  
 excited that furious Cæcilius. In what

animo fuit tum rex? qui  
 disposition-of-mind was then the king? who

auctionatus sit quæ maluerit spoliare sese,  
 sold-his-goods-at-public-sale and preferred to-deprive himself,

quàm non subministrare tibi pecuniam.  
 than (that) 'he-might not 'supply you (with) money-

**At** eo ipso tempore, inquit mittebat  
 But at-that same time, says (the accuser) he-sent (persons)

Nicæam quæ Ephesum, qui exciperent Africanos  
 to Nicæa and Ephesus, who might-catch-up the African

rumores, et celeriter referrent ad se.  
 rumours, and speedily report (them) to himself.

**Itaque** quum nunciatum esset ei, Domitium  
 Therefore when it-was-announced to-him, (that) Domitius

periisse naufragio, te circumsidere in  
 had-perished by-shipwreck, (and that) you were-besieged in

castello, dixit de Domitio Græcum versum  
 a fortress, he-recited concerning Domitius a Greek verse (of)

eâdem sententiâ, quâ nos hebemius Latinum,  
 the-same import, in-which we have (it in) Latin,

Pereant amici, dum unâ inimici intercidant.  
 Let friends perish, when together (with them our) enemies may fall

**Quod** ille, si esset inimicissimus tibi, tamen  
 Which he, if he-had-been the-most-inimical to-you, yet 'would

nunquam dixisset; enim ipse mansuetus,  
 never 'have-said; for he-himself is-mild, (but)

versus immanis. **Autem** qui poterat esse amicus  
 the verse ferocious. But how could-he be a friend

**Domitio**, qui esset inimicus tibi? **Porro** cur  
 to-Domitius, who was inimical to-you? Moreover why

esset inimicus tibi, a quo, quum vel  
 should-he-be inimical to-you, by whom, when even

potuisset interfici lege belli,  
 he-might-have-been put-to-death by-the-laws of-war,

meminisset, et se et suum illum  
 he-might-have-remembered, (that) both himself and his son  
 constitutos esse regem? Quid deinde? quò  
 were constituted kings? What next? whither? (this)  
 furcifer progreditur? Ait Deiotarum  
 scoundrel 'go? He-says (that) Deiotarus (was so)  
 elatum hac lætitiâ  
 elated by-this joy (of the news of your reverses, that)  
 obruisse se vino que saltavisse  
 he-overloaded himself with-wine [became drunk] and (that) he-danced  
 nudum, in convivio. Quæ crux potest afferre satis  
 naked at the banquet. What cross could bring sufficient  
 supplicii huic fugitivo? quisquam  
 punishment to-this runaway (slave)? 'did any-one  
 unquam vidit Deiotarum saltantem aut ebrium?  
 ever 'see Deiotarus dancing or drunk?  
 Omnes virtutes sunt in illo rege, quod abitror  
 All virtues are in that king, which I-think (that)  
 te, Cæsar, non ignorare, sed præcipue singularis  
 you, O Cæsar, are not ignorant-of, but especially a singular  
 et admiranda frugalitas; etsi  
 and to-be-admired frugality (and temperance); although  
 scio non solere regem laudari hoc  
 I-know (that) 'it-is not 'usual (that) a king be-praised by this  
 verbo. Hominem dici frugi habet non  
 word (frugality). (That) a man is-called frugal has not  
 multum laudis in rege; fortem, justum,  
 much of-praise in a king; (to be called) brave, just,  
 severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum,  
 grave, dignified, magnanimous, profuse, beneficent,  
 liberalem, hæc sunt regiæ laudes; illa est privata.  
 liberal, these are royal praises; that other is a private  
 Quisque accipiat ut volet; ego  
 (virtue). Each-one may-receive (this) as he-pleases; I  
 tamen judico frugalitatem, id est, modetiam et  
 however esteem frugality, that is, moderation and  
 temperantiam, maximam virtutem. Hæc  
 temperance, (as) the greatest virtue. This-frugality

perspecta est, et cognita, ab ineunte ætate,  
 has-been-perceived, and known, from (his) early-commencing age,  
 quum a cunctâ Asiâ, tum a nostris magistratibus  
 as-well by all Asia, as by our magistrates  
 que legatibus, tum ab Romanis equitibus, qui  
 and ambassadors, as by the Roman knights, who  
 negotiati sunt in Asiâ. Ille quidem ascendit ad hoc  
 may-have-trafficked in Asia. He indeed attained to this  
 regium nomen multis gradibus officiorum erga  
 royal name by-many degrees of-services towards  
 nostram rempublicam; sed tamen quidquid  
 our republic; but however whatever  
 vacabat a bellis Romani populi jungebat cum  
 leisure-he-had from the wars of-the-Roman people he united with  
 nostris hominibus consuetudines, amicitias,  
 our people (in cultivating) intercourse, friendships,  
 res que actiones, ut non  
 (and) the affairs and relations (of business), so-that 'he-was not  
 solùm haberetur nobilis tetrarches, sed etiam  
 only 'held-to-be an illustrious tetrarch, but also  
 optimus paterfamilias, et diligentissimus  
 a most-excellent father-of-a-family, and a most-industrious  
 agricola et pecuarius. Is igitur, qui,  
 agriculturist and rearer-of-cattl 'Did-he then, who, (when)  
 adolescens, nondum præditus tantâ gloriâ,  
 a young-man, (and) not-yet endowed with-so-much renown,  
 fecerit nihil nisi severissime et gravissime,  
 had-done nothing unless most-seriously and gravely, (being held)  
 eâ existimatione, que eâ ætate saltavit?  
 in-that esteem, and at-that age 'dance?

10. Debeas, Castor, potius imitari mores que  
 You-ought, O Castor, rather to-imitate the manners and  
 disciplinam tui avi, quàm maledicere  
 discipline of-your grandfather, than to-calamniate  
 optimo et clarissimo viro ore fugitivi.  
 a-most-excellent and illustrious man by-the-mouth of-a-fugitive  
 Quòd si habuisses avum vitatorem,  
 (slave). But-even if you-had-had a-grandfather a slave.



neque eum virum, unde exempla pudoris  
and-not that man, whence [in whom] examples of-honour

que pudicitiae peterentur, tamen hoc maledictum  
and modesty might-be-sought, however this calumny

minime conveniret in illam ætatem. Quibus  
did very-little 'agree with that age. With-which

studiis ille imbuerat se  
studies (and pursuits) he had-imbued (and accustomed) himself

ab incunte ætate non saltandi, sed, ut uteretur  
from early age not of-dancing, but, that he-might-use (his)

armis bene, ut equis  
weapons well, (and) that (he might manage his) horses

optime; tamen cuncta ea defecerant  
in-the-best-manner; however all these-things failed

illum jam, exactâ ætate. Itaque quum plures  
him now, 'in (his) 'old age. Therefore when several

sustulerunt Deiotarum in equum, solebamus  
had-placed Deiotarus on (his) horse, we-used

admirari quòd senex posset hæerere in eo. Vero  
to-admire that the-old-man could stick on it. But

hic adolescens, qui in Ciliciâ fuit meus  
this young-man, (Castor), who in Cilicia was my

miles, in Græciâ commilito; quum equitaret, in  
soldier, in Greece (my) fellow-soldier; when he-rode, in

illo nostro exercitu cum suis delectis equitibus,  
that our army with his select cavalry,

quos pater miserat unâ cum eo ad Pompeium,  
which (his) father had-sent together with him to Pompey,

quos concursus solebat facere! quàm jactare  
what courses he-used to-make! how he-used-to-vaunt

se! quàm ostentare! quàm concedere  
himself! how to-display (himself)! how to-concede

nemini, in illâ causâ studio et cupiditate!  
to-no-one, in that cause (of Pompey) in-zeal and ardour!

Vero quum, exercitu amisso, ego, qui  
But when, the army (of Pompey) being-lost, I, who (was)

semper auctor pacis, post prælium Pharsalicum,  
always an advocate of-peace, after the battle (of) Pharsalia,

fui suasor non deponendorum armorum, sed  
was the adviser not of-laying-down arms, but

abjiciendorum; potui non adducere  
of-'throwing (them) 'away; (yet) I-could not bring

hunc ad meam auctoritatem,  
him (Castor) to my authority, [induce him to adopt my

quòd ipse et ardebat studio ipsius  
opinion,] because he-himself both was-ardent in-zeal (for) that-same

belli, et arbitrabatur satisfaciendum  
war, and he-thought, (that) he-ought-to-satisfy (the wishes of his)

patri. Felix ista domus, quæ non solùm  
father. Fortunate (is) this family (of yours), which not only

lepta sit impunitatem, sed etiam licentiam  
as-obtained impunity, but also the license

accusandi; calamitosus Deiotarus, qui accusetur  
of-accusing (others); unfortunate Deiotarus, who is-accused

ab eo, qui fuerit in iisdem castris, non  
by him, who was in the same camp (with him), not

modò apud te, sed etiam a suis. Potestis  
only before you, but also by his-own (relations). Could

non vos, Castor, esse contenti vestrâ secundâ  
not you, O Castor, be content with-your good

fortunâ, sine calamitate  
fortune, without (bringing) calamity (on your)

propinquorum?  
relations?

11. Sane, sint inimicitiae,

'There-may, without-doubt, 'be enmities (between you),

quæ debebant non esse; enim rex Deiotarus  
which ought not to-have-been; for king Deiotarus

evocavit vestram abjectam et obscuram familiam,  
called-forth your low and obscure family,

e tenebris in lucem. Quis antea audivit  
from darkness into light. Who (ever) before heard (of)

tuum patrem, qui esset, quàm  
your father, who he-might-be, than (till he heard)

cujus gener esset? Sed quamvis ingrâte et  
whose son-in-law he-was? But although ungratefully and

impie repudiaretis nomen necessitudinis,  
 impiously you-may-have-repudiated the name 'of (your) 'relationship,

tamen poteratis genere inimicitias  
 however you-might-have conducted (your) animosities

more hominum, non insectari  
 after-the-manner of-men, not to-prosecute (him, you: grandfather)

ficto crimine, non expetere vitam, non  
 with-false crime, not to seek (his) life, (and) not

arcessere capitis. Esto; quoque  
 to-arraign (him) for-a-capital-offence. Be-it-so; let also

hæc acerbitas, et magnitudo odii concedatur; ne  
 this bitterness, and greatness of-hatred be allowed; ought it

adeo, ut omnia jura vitæ, que communis  
 (to be allowed) so-far, that all rights of-life, and of-common

salutis, atque etiam humanitatis violentur?  
 safety, and also of-humanity are-to-be-violated?

Sollicitare servum verbis, corrumpere spe que  
 To-solicit a slave by-words, to-corrump (him) by-hopes and

promissis, abducere domum, armare contra  
 promises, to entice (him) from-home, to-arm him against

dominum, hoc est indicere nefarium bellum, non  
 (his) master, this is to-declare a wicked war, not

uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis. Nam  
 against-one relation, but against-all families. For

ista corruptela servi, si non modò  
 this corruption of-slaves, if 'it-should not only

impunita fuerit, sed etiam approbata a tantâ  
 'be-left-unpunished, but also be-approved by so-great

auctoritate, nulli parietes, nullæ  
 an-authority (as this tribunal of yours), no walls, no

leges, nulla jura custodient nostram salutem. Enim  
 laws, no rights will-protect our safety. For

ubi id, quod est intus, atque nostrum,  
 when that, which is within (our houses), and (is) ours,

potest evolare impune,  
 [namely, our slaves,] (that) it-should-be-able to-come-forth impunitly,

que pugnare contra nos, servitus fit in  
 and fight against us, slavery 'is (then) 'made into

dominatu, et dominatus in servitute.

mastership, and mastership into slavery. [The slave becomes

master, and the master slave.] O tempora, O mores!  
O the times, O the manners!

Cn. Domitius, ille, quem nos, pueri, vidimus  
Cn. Domitius, he, whom we, (when) boys, saw (as)

consulem censorem pontificem maximum,  
consul censor (and) pontifex maximus, [chief pontiff,]

quum tribunus plebis vocasset M. Scaurum  
when (he was) tribune of-the-people he-had-called M. Scaurus

principem civitatis in iudicium populi, que  
a-chief-man of-the-state on trial (before) the people, and

servus Scauri venisset ad eum clam domum, et  
a slave of Scaurus had-come to him secretly, at-his-house, and

dixisset, se delaturum esse crimina in  
said, (that) he would-bring accusations against (his)

dominum, jussit hominem prehendi, que  
master, he-ordered the man to-be-apprehended, and

deduci ad Scaurum. Vide quid intersit;  
to-be-taken-back to Scaurus. See what the-difference-is;

etsi inique comparo Castorem cum Domitio; sed  
although unjustly I-compare Castor with Domitius; but

tamen ille remissit servum inimico, tu  
however he sent-back the slave 'to (his) 'enemy, you

abduxisti ab avo; ille noluit  
have-led-away (the slave) from (your) grandfather; he would-not

audire incorruptum, tu corrupisti; ille  
listen (to the slave) unbribed, you bribed (one); he

repudiavit servum adiutorem contra dominum,  
rejected a slave (as) assistant against (his) master,

tu etiam adhibuisti accusatorem.  
you even made-use-of (one, as) an accuser (of his master).

An semel iste corruptus est a  
But-was-it-only once (that) this (slave) was-corrupted by

vobis? Nonne quum productus esset,  
you? Was-it-not-sc (that) when he-had-been-brought-forth,

et quum fuisset cum te, refugit ad legatos?  
and when he-was with you, he-fled-back to the ambassadors!



Nonne etiam venit ad hunc Cn. Domitium? Nonne  
Did-he-not also come to this Cn. Domitius? Did-he-not

confessus est audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio,  
confess in-the-hearing (of) this Ser. Sulpicius,

clarissimo viro, qui tum casu coenabat apud  
a most-illustrious man, who then by-chance was-taking-supper with

Domitium, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo adolescente  
Domitius, and this T. Torquatus, a-most-excellent young-man

se corruptum esse a te, tuis  
(also present, that) he was-bribed by you, (and) by-your

promissis impulsum in fraudem.

promises impelled to dishonesty (and treachery).

12. Quæ est ista tam impotens, tam crudelis,  
What is this so unrestrained, so cruel,

tam immoderata inhumanitas? idcirco  
so immoderate inhumanity (of yours)? was-it-for-this

venisti in hanc urbem, ut corrumperes jura,  
that-you-came to this city, that you-might-corrupt the laws,

et exempla hujus urbis,  
(institutions), and examples (and manners) of-this city,

que inquinares humanitatem nostræ  
and that-you-might pollute the humanity of-our

civitatis domesticâ immanitate? At  
city, 'by your 'domestic (Asiatic) ferocity? But

quàm acute crimina collecta! Blesamius,  
how ingeniously (your) charges have-been-collected! Blesamius,

inquit, (enim nomine ejus optimi viri,  
says he (the accuser), (for by-the-name of-this very-excellent man,

nec ignoti tibi, maledicebat tibi), solebat scribere  
nor-not unknown to-you, he-calumniated you), used to-write

ad regem, te esse in invidiâ,  
to the king, [Deiotarus,] (that) you were unpopular, (that you)

existimari tyrannum; statuâ positâ,  
were-considered a tyrant; (that your) statue being-placed,

inter reges, animos hominum  
among (the ancient) kings (of Rome), the minds of-men 'were

vehementer offensos; non solere tibi  
vehemently 'offended; (that) 'it-was not 'usual for you

plaudi. Nonne, Cæsar, intelligis,  
to-be-applauded. 'Do-you not, O Cæsar, 'understand, (that)

hæc collecta esse ab istis ex urbanis  
these-things were-collected by these-fellows from the town

sermunculis malevolorum? Blesamius  
gossip of-evil-disposed-persons? 'would Blesamius

scriberet Cæsarem tyrannum? Enim  
'write (that) Cæsar (was) a tyrant? Perhaps

viderat capita multorum civium;  
he-had-seen the heads of-many citizens (exposed); (or)

multos vexatos, verberatos, necatos, jusu Cæsaribus;  
many ill-treated, scourged, killed, by-the-order of-Cæsar;

multas domos afflictas et eversas; forum  
(or) many houses ruined and destroyed; (or) the forum

refertum armatis militibus. Quæ  
filled with-armed soldiers. The things-which 'we-have

semper sensimus in civili victoriâ, ea non  
always experienced in civil victory, those 'we-did not

vidimus, te victore. C. Cæsar, es, inquam,  
'see, you (being) victor. 'You, O C. Cæsar, 'are, I-say,

solus in cujus victoriâ nemo ceciderit, nisi  
the only-one by whose victory no-one fell, unless

armatus. Et quem nos  
armed. [With arms in his hands.] And (him) whom we

liberi, nati in summâ libertate Romani  
free-men, born in the highest (and fullest) liberty of-the-Roman

populi, ducimus non modò non tyrannum, sed etiam  
people, consider not only no tyrant, but even

clementissimum in victoriâ, potest is videri tyrannus  
most-clement in victory, can he appear a tyrant

Blesamio qui vivit in regno? Nam de statuâ,  
to Blesamius who lives in a monarchy? For concerning the statue,

quis queritur, unâ præsertim, quum videat tam  
who complains, about-one especially, when he-may see so

multas? Valde enim est invidendum ejus statuis,  
many? Greatly indeed is it-to-be-envied 'to-his 'statues,

cujus tropæis non  
[are his statues to be envied,] whose trophies 'we-do not

invidimus. Nam si locus affert invidiam, nullus  
 envy. For if the place excites envy, no

est quidem clarior ad statutem  
 (place) is indeed more-conspicuous for a statue (than)

Rostris. Sed de plausu, quid  
 the Rostra. But concerning (public) applause, what

respondeam? qui nec unquam desideratus est a  
 shall-I-reply? which 'has not ever 'been-desired by

te, et nonnunquam, hominibus obstupefactis,  
 you, and sometimes, men being-astonished

compressus est admiratione ipsâ,  
 (at your great deeds), it-has-been-repressed by-admiration itself,

et fortasse eò prætermisus, quia nihil vulgare  
 and perhaps therefore omitted, because nothing vulgar

potest videri dignum te.  
 could appear worthy of-you.

13. Arbitror nihil prætermisum a me, sed  
 I-think (that) nothing has-been-omitted by me, but

aliquid reservatum ad extremam partem causæ.  
 something is-reserved to the extreme part of-the-cause.

Autem id est aliquid, ut mea oratio plane  
 But this is something, that my speech 'will clearly

reconciliet te Deiotaro; enim non jam metuo,  
 'reconcile you to Deiotarus; for 'I-do not now 'fear,

ne tu succenseas illi; vereor illud, ne  
 lest you may-be-angry (with) him; (but) I-fear that, lest

suspicere, illum aliquid succensere  
 you-may suspect, (that) he 'is somewhat 'angry (with)

tibi, quod, crede mihi, Cæsar, abest longissime;  
 you, which, believe me, O Cæsar, is-distant most-far

enim quid retineat per te meminit,  
 (from him); for what he-retains through you he-remembers,

non quid amiserit; neque arbitratur, se  
 not what he-has-lost; neither does-he-think, (that) he

multatum a te; sed quum existimares,  
 has-been-punished by you; but as you-may-have-thought, (that)

multa tribuenda esse tibi multis, quominus  
 many-things had-to-be-given (by) you to-many-people, at-least-that

non recusavit sumeres ea a se, qui  
 'he-did not object that-you took those things from him, who  
 fuisset in alterâ parte. Etenim si  
 had-been in the other party (that of Pompey). For if

Antiochus ille magnus, rex Asiæ posteaquam  
 Antiochus the great, king of Asia after-that

devictus a L. Scipione jussus esset  
 he-was-conquered by L. Scipio (and) had-been-commanded, (only)

regnare tenus Tauro, que  
 to-reign (over the country) as-far-as (Mount) Taurus, and

amisisset omnem hanc Asiam, quæ est nunc  
 had-lost all that (part of) Asia, which is now

nostra provincia, solitus est dicere, benigne  
 our province, was accustomed to-say, (that) 'it-was kindly

factum sibi a Romano populo, quod liberatus  
 'done to-him by the Roman people, because being-freed

nimis magnâ procuratione  
 'from-the too 'great care (of a large kingdom)

uteretur regni modicis terminis, potest  
 he-might-enjoy a kingdom (of) moderate extent, (so) can

Deiotarus multò facilius consolari se. Enim  
 Deiotarus much more-readily console himself. For

ille sustulerat multam furoris, hic  
 he [Antiochus] had-sustained the penalty of-fury, this-one [Deiotarus]

erroris. Tu tribuisti, Cæsar, omnia Deiotaro,  
 'of (his) 'error. You granted, O-Cæsar, every-thing to Deiotarus,

quum concessisti, et ipsi et filio regium  
 when you-conceded, both to-him and (his) son the royal

nomen. Hoc nomine retento  
 name. [Title of king.] This title (of king) being-retained

atque servato, putat nullum beneficium  
 and preserved, he (considers, that) no benefit

Romani populi, nullum iudicium  
 (or kindness) of-the-Roman people, no judgment (or decree)

senatûs de se imminutum; est animo  
 of-the-senate concerning him has-been-diminished; he is (in) mind

magno et erecto, nec unquam succumbet  
 great and courageous nor 'will-he ever 'succumb



inimicis, ne quidem fortunæ. Arbitratur  
 to-enemies, nor even-indeed to-fortune. He-thinks (that) he

et peperisse multa ante factis, et  
 'has both 'acquired much before by-his deeds, and (that he)

habere in animo atque virtute,  
 has (it) in (his) mind and 'in (his) 'power (to do more),

quæ possit nullo modo amittere. Enim quæ fortuna,  
 which he-can by-no means lose. For what fortune,

aut quis casus, aut quæ tanta injuria  
 or what accident, or what so-great injustice (or injury)

possit delere decreta omnium imperatorum  
 could efface the decrees of-all (our) commanders

de Deiotaro? Enim ornatus est ab omnibus  
 respecting Deiotarus? For he-has-been-honoured by all

his, qui, posteaquam per ætatem, potuit esse in  
 those, who, after-that by (his) age, he-could be in

castris, gesserunt bella, in Asiâ, Cappadociâ, Ponto,  
 camps, carried-on wars, in Asia, Cappadocia, Pontus,

Ciliciâ, Syriâ. Vero judicia senatûs de  
 Cilicia, (and) Syria. But-indeed the decrees of-the-senate concerning

illo, tam multa, que tam honorifica,  
 him, (which are) so many, and so honourable, (and)

quæ consignata sunt publicis literis, que  
 which are-consigned to-the-public records, and

monumentis Romani populi, quæ vetustas  
 monuments of-the-Roman people, which 'will length-of-age

unquam obruet aut quæ oblivio tanta  
 ever 'obliterate or which 'will oblivion so-much-as

delebit? Quid dicam de ejus virtute?  
 'deface? What shall-I-say concerning his valour?

de magnitudine animi, gravitate,  
 concerning (his) 'greatness of-mind, gravity, (and)

constantia? quæ omnes docti atque sapientes  
 constancy? which all learned and wise (men)

dixerunt esse summa, quidam etiam sola bona,  
 have-said to-be the greatest, some also the only good,

que his, virtutem contentam esse, non modò ad  
 and by these, that virtue was-sufficient, not only for

vivendum bene, sed etiam ad beate. Ille  
 living well, but also for (living) happily. He  
 reputans hæc, et cogitans dies que noctes,  
 reflecting on-these-things, and thinking days and nights (thereon),  
 non modò, non succenset tibi, (enim esset  
 not only, 'is-he not 'displeased (with) you, (for he-would-be  
 non solum ingratus, sed etiam amens), verum  
 not only ungrateful, but even mad), but-indeed  
 refert omnem acceptam tranquillitatem, et quietem  
 refers all the received tranquillity, and quiet  
 senectutis, tuæ clementiæ  
 'of (his) 'old-age, to-your clemency.

14. Quum quidem antea fuit quo  
 When indeed heretofore he-was in-this (state of)  
 animo, tum, non dubito, quin tuis literis,  
 mind, then, 'I-do not 'doubt, but-that by-your letter,  
 exemplum quarum legi, quas dedisti huic  
 a copy of-which I-have-read, (and) which you-gave to-this  
 Blesamo, Terracone, ad eum, etiam erexerit  
 Blesamus, at Terraco (in Spain), for him, 'he also 'cheered  
 se magis, que abstraxit ab omni  
 himself 'up the more, and withdrew (his mind) from all  
 sollicitudine. Enim jubes sperare bene,  
 anxiety. For you-tell (him in that letter) to-hope well,  
 et esse bono animo: quod scio, te  
 and to-be (of) good courage: which I-know, (that) you 'are  
 non solere scribere frustrà; enim memini  
 not 'accustomed to-write in-vain; for I-remember (that)  
 te scribere ad me fere iisdem verbis, que me,  
 you wrote to me nearly the same words, and (that) I,  
 tuis literis, jussum esse, non frustrà, sperare bene.  
 in-your letter, was told, not in-vain, to-hope well.  
 Equidem laboro causâ regis Deiotari,  
 'I indeed 'exert-myself in-the-cause of-king Deictarus,  
 cum quo respublica conciliavit mihi amicitiam,  
 with whom the republic united me (in) friendship,  
 voluntas utriusque conjunxit hospitium,  
 will-and-inclination of-both joined (us in) the bond-of-hospitality,

consuetudo attulit familiaritatem, vero ejus magna  
intercourse brought-on familiarity, but his great

officia, et in me et in meum exercitum,  
real-and-good-offices, both to me and to my army,

effecerunt summam necessitudinem; sed quum  
produced the-greatest-degree (of) intimate-friendship; but when

laboro de illo, tum de multis amplissimis  
I exert-myself for him, as-also for many illustrious

viris, quibus oportet, ignotum esse a  
men, to-whom it-is-proper, (that) pardon-should-be-extended by

te semel, nec tuum beneficium  
you once-for-all, nor is your favour (or pardon granted)

vocari in dubium, nec sempiternam  
to-be-called in doubt, nor (so that) perpetual

sollicitudinem hærere in animis hominum, nec  
anxiety should-fasten in the minds of-men, or

accidere ut quisquam eorum incipiat  
that-it-should-happen, that any-one of-those might-commence

timere te, qui semel liberati sint a te timore.  
to-fear you, who 'have once 'been-liberated by you from-fear.

Debeo non, C. Cæsar, quod solet fieri, in  
I-ought not, O C. Cæsar, which it-is-usual to-do, in

tantis periculis, tentare, ecquonam modo dicendo  
such-great dangers, to-attempt, if-by-any mode of speech

possim commovere tuam misericordiam. Est nihil  
I-could move your compassion. There-is-no

opus; solet occurrere ipsa  
need (of this); (your compassion) is-used to-come-forth itself

supplicibus, et calamitosis, evocata oratione  
for-the-suppliants, and unfortunate-persons, called-forth by-the-oration

nullius. Propone tibi duos reges,  
of-no-one. Place-before yourself two kings, [Deiotarus and his son],

et contemplare in animo, quod potes non  
and contemplate in (your) mind, which you-can not

oculis. Profectò dabis misericordiæ,  
with (your) 'eyes. 'You-will certainly grant to-compassion,

quod denegavisti iracundiæ. Multa sunt  
that-which you-have-denied to-anger. Many are

monumenta tuæ clementiæ, sed maxime  
the-monuments of-your clemency, but more-especially

incolumnitates eorum, quibus dedisti salutem.  
the security of-those, to-whom you-have-given safety.

Quæ si sunt gloriosa,  
Which (monuments of clemency) if they-are glorious, (when conferred

in privatis, multò magis  
on persons) in private-life, 'they-will-be much more

commemorabuntur in regibus. Regium nomen  
'praised (when conferred) on kings. The royal name

fuit semper sanctum in hac civitate; regum  
was always holy in this city; (but that) of kings (our)

sociorum et amicorum sanctissimum.  
allies and friends most-holy.

15. Quod nomen hi reges timuerunt ne  
Which title (of kings) these kings feared lest

amitterent, te victore; vero retentum,  
they-might-lose, you being-victorious; but (which title) being-retained,

et confirmatum a te, confido etiam  
and confirmed by you, I-trust (that they) also

tradituros esse suis posteris. Hi regii legati  
will-transmit (it) to-their posterity. These royal ambassadors

tradunt tibi sua corpora, pro salute suorum  
surrender to-you their persons, for the safety of-their

regum; Hieras et Blesamius, et  
kings; (these ambassadors are) Hieras and Blesamius, and

Antigonus, jamdiu noti tibi que nobis omnibus,  
Antigonus, long-since known to-you and us all,

que Dorylaus præditus eâdem fide et virtute,  
and Dorylaus endowed with-the-same good-faith and virtue,

qui nuper missus est ad te legatus cum  
who lately has-been-sent to you as-an-ambassador with

Hierâ, quum amicissimi  
Hiera, when (as they were ambassadors) of-the-most-friendly

regum, tum etiam, ut spero, probati tibi. Exquire  
of-kings, so also, as I-hope, approved-of by-you. Inquire

de Blesamio, numquid scripserit ad regem contra  
of Blesamius, if-ever he-wrote to the king against;



tuam dignitatem Hieras quidem suscipit  
 your dignity. Hieras indeed takes-on-himself  
 omnem causam, et illis criminibus  
 the entire cause (of the king), and (as respects) those charges  
 supponit se reum pro rege;  
 (against Deiotarus) he-substitutes himself as defendant for the king;  
 implorat tuam memoriam, qua vales  
 implores (the aid of) your memory, in-which you-excel  
 plurimum; negat se unquam decessisse pedem  
 so-much; he-denies (that) he ever stepped  
 a te, in tetrarchiâ Deiotari; dicit,  
 from you, (while) in the tetrarchy of-Deiotarus; he-says, (that)  
 se fuisse præsto tibi in primis finibus,  
 he was present to-you on the first frontier, [that he met you,  
 que prosecutum usque  
 on your first entrance into the country,] and followed-you even  
 ad ultimos;  
 to the last (frontiers); [and accompanied you, till you left the country;]  
 se fuisse cum te, quum exisses e balneo;  
 (that) he was with you, when you-came-out from the-bath;  
 quum cœnatus inspexisses illa  
 (also he was with you) when having-supperd you inspected those  
 munera, quum in cubiculo recubuisses;  
 presents, (and) when in your-chamber, you-had-lain-down;  
 que postridie se præbuisse eandem assiduitatem  
 and (that) the-next-day he had-shown the same attention  
 tibi. Quamobrem, si quid eorum quæ  
 to-you. Wherefore, if any of-those (charges) which  
 objecta sunt, cogitatum sit,  
 have-been-brought-against (Deiotarus) may-have-been-thought-of,  
 non recusat, quin iudices id suum  
 'he-does not 'refuse, but-that you-judge it (to be) his  
 facinus. Quocirca, C. Cæsar, velim existimes,  
 crime. Therefore, O C. Cæsar, I-wish you-may-consider, (that)  
 hodierno die, tuam sententiam importaturam esse  
 to-day, your sentence will-bring-on (these)  
 regibus aut miserrimam pestem, cum summo  
 kings either the-most-miserable ruin, with the greatest

dedecore, aut incolumem famam, cum salute,  
 disgrace, or uninjured fame, with safety,  
 quorum alterum est crudelitatis illorum  
 of-which the-first-sentence is (the part) of-the-cruelty of-those  
 optari, alterum tuæ  
 (accusers of Deiotarus) to-wish-for, the other (is the part) of-your  
 clementiæ conservare.  
 clemency is preserve.

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,*

PRO  
 FOR

T. ANNIO MILONE.  
*T. ANNIUS MILO.*

~~~~~

1. Etsi vereor, judices, ne sit  
 Although I am apprehensive, O judges, lest it-may (be considered)  
 turpe, incipientem dicere pro fortissimo  
 shameful, (in one) beginning to-speak for a very-brave  
 viro, timere, que minimè decet, quum  
 man, to-show-fear, and 'it-is in-no-way 'becoming, when  
 T. Annius ipse magis perturbatur salute  
 T. Annius himself 'is more 'disturbed for-the-safety  
 reipublicæ, quàm de suâ, me posse non  
 of-the-republic, than for his-own, (that) I can not  
 afferre ad ejus causam parem magnitudinem  
 bring to his cause equal greatness (and command)  
 animi, tamen hæc nova forma novi judicii  
 of-mind, however this new form of-an-unusual (kind) of-trial  
 terret oculos, qui, quocunque incidunt  
 terrifies (my) eyes, which, wherever they-fall  
 requirunt consuetudinem fori, et pristinum  
 require [miss] the usual-customs of-the-forum, and the ancient  
 morem judiciorum. Enim vester consessus  
 form (and usage) of-tribunals. For your session, [seats,]  
 (410)

non cinctus est coronâ, ut  
(O judges), 'is not 'surrounded by-a-circle (of citizens), as

solebat; non stipati sumus usitatâ  
it-used-to-be; (and) 'we-are not 'densely-environed by-the-usual

frequentiâ; nec illa præsidia  
crowd (of hearers); nor those guards (of soldiers)

quæ cernitis pro omnibus templis, etsi  
which you-see before all the temples, although

collocata sunt contra vim, tamen  
they-are-stationed-there against violence, yet

non afferunt aliquid oratori, ut  
'they-do not 'bring any (encouragement) to-the-speaker, as

in foro et in judicio; quamquam  
(the people) in the forum and in the courts-of-justice; although

septi sumus salutaribus et necessariis præsidiis,  
we-are-surrounded by-salutary and necessary guards,

tamen quidem possumus ne non timere sine aliquo  
yet indeed we-can not fear without some

timore. Quæ si  
fear. [We cannot divest ourselves of all fear.] Which (things) if

putarem opposita Miloni, cederem  
I-thought (that) they-were-opposed to-Milo, I-would-give-way

tempori, iudices, nec existimarem esse locum  
to-the-times, O judges, nor would-I-deem (that) there-was place

orationi inter tantam vim armorum. Sed  
for-an-oration among so-great a force of-arms. But

consilium Cn. Pompeii sapientissimi et justissimi  
the prudent-counsels of-Cn. Pompey a most-wise and just

virī recreat et reficit me, qui profectò nec  
man encourages and reassures me, who certainly 'wou'd not

putaret suæ justitiæ, quem  
'think (it a part) of-his justice, (that the persons) whom

tradidisset reum sententiis iudicum,  
he-had-given-over as-a-defendant (to receive) the sentence of-the-judges,

dedere eundem telis  
(that) they-had-surrendered the same-person to-the-weapons

militum; nec sapientiæ, armare  
of-the-soldiers; nor (a part 'of (his) 'wisdom, to-arm



publicâ auctoritate, temeritatem concitatae multitudinis.  
with-public authority, the rashness of-an-excited multitude.

Quamobrem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes  
Wherefore those arms, (those) centurions, (those) cohorts

non denuntiant periculum, sed præsidium nobis,  
'do not 'announce danger, but protection to-us,

neque solùm hortantur ut simus  
nor 'do-they alone 'exhort (us) that we-should-be

quieto, sed etiam ut magno  
in-a-calm (state of mind), but also that (we should be) in-a-great

animo; neque modò pollicentur  
(state of) mind [courageous]; nor 'do-they only 'promise

auxilium meae defensionis, verùm etiam silentium.  
assistance to-my defence, but also silence.

Verò reliqua multitudo, quæ quidem est  
But the remaining multitude, which indeed is (composed)

civium, est tota nostra;  
of-citizens, is altogether ours, (and favourable to our cause);

neque quisquam eorum, quos videtis intuentes  
neither any-one of-those, whom you-see looking-on

undique, unde aliqua pars fori potest adspici,  
from-every-place, whence any part of-the-forum can be-seen,

et expectantes exitum hujus judicii, quum non  
and waiting the issue of-this trial, when 'he-does not

favet virtuti Milonis, tum putat  
(only as much) 'favour the virtue of-Milo, as-that he-thinks

decertari hodierno die, de se, de suis  
it-to-be-contended to-day, concerning himself, concerning his

liberis, de patriâ, de  
children, concerning (his) country, (and) concerning (his own)

fortunis.  
fortunes.

2. Unum genus est adversum, quæ infestum nobis  
One class is adverse, and hostile to-us

eorum, quos furor P. Clodii pavit rapinis, et  
of-those-people, whom the fury of-P. Clodius has-fed by-rapine, and

incendiis et omnibus publicis exitiis; qui etiam  
conflagrations and by-all public disasters; who even

nisternâ concione incitati sunt, ut præirent  
 by-yesterday's harangue were-incited, that they-should-dictate  
 vobis voce, quid judicaretis. Clamor  
 to-you 'by (their) 'clamour, what you-were-to-decide. The shouts  
 quorum, si forte fuerit qui, debebit admorere  
 of-these-men, if perchance there-should-be any, ought to-admonish  
 vos, ut retineatis eum civem,  
 you, that you-should-retain him a citizen, (in the country, by a  
 qui semper neglexit illud genus  
 sentence of acquittal), who always neglected that class  
 hominum, que maximos clamores, pro vestrâ  
 of-men, and (their) very-great outcries, for your  
 salute. Quamobrem adeste animis,  
 safety. Wherefore be-present in mind [be of good courage],  
 judices, et deponite timorem, si habetis quem.  
 O judges, and lay-aside (all) fear, if you-have any.  
 Nam si unquam potestas fuit vobis  
 For if ever the power was to-you [if you ever had the  
 judicandi de bonis et fortibus  
 power] of-judicially-deciding concerning good and brave  
 viris, si unquam de civibus meritis bene,  
 men, if ever concerning citizens (who have) deserved well  
 si denique unquam locus datus est  
 (of their country), if in-fine ever an opportunity was-given  
 delectis viris amplissimorum ordinum, ut  
 to-chosen men of-the-most-illustrious orders (in the state), that  
 declararent re et sententiis,  
 they-declare (and show) by-the-affair-itself, and 'by (their) 'votes-as-judges,  
 sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quæ  
 their good-will towards brave and good citizens, which  
 sæpe significassent vultu et  
 they-have often 'signified 'by (their) 'countenance and  
 verbis, vos profectò hoc tempore habetis omnem  
 words, you certainly at-this time have all  
 eam potestatem, ut statuatis, utrum nos, qui  
 that power, that you-may-determine, whether we, who  
 semper dediti fuimus vestræ auctoritati,  
 have always 'been-devoted to-your authority 'are,

miseri, semper lugeamus, an, diu  
 miserable-men, always 'to-mourn, or, 'having for-a-long-time  
 vexati a perditissimis civibus, aliquando  
 'been-harassed by most-abandoned citizens, at-length  
 recreemur per vos, ac per  
 we-may-be-restored-to (our former state of safety) by you, and by  
 vestram fidem, virtutem que sapientiam. Enim  
 your good-faith, virtue and wisdom. For  
 quid, judices, laboriosius, quid magis sollicitum,  
 what (condition), O judges, more-harassing, what more vexatious,  
 magis exercitum, potest dici aut fingi, nobis  
 more trying, can be-said or imagined, for-us  
 duobus, qui adducti ad rempublicam,  
 two, who induced (to devote ourselves) to the republic,  
 spe amplissimorum præmiorum, possumus non  
 by-the-hope of-most-honourable rewards, can not  
 carere metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum?  
 be-free-from the fear of-the-most-cruel punishments?  
 Equidem semper putavi tempestates et procellas,  
 Indeed 'I always 'thought (that) the storms and tempests,  
 duntaxat in illis fluctibus concionum  
 at-least in those agitations (and tumults) of-public-assemblies  
 subeundas esse Miloni, quia semper senserat  
 were-to-be-encountered (by) Milo, because 'he always 'was-in-favour  
 pro bonis contra improbos; vero in iudicio, et in  
 of the good against the bad; but in a court, and in  
 eo consilio, in quo amplissimi viri ex  
 such a council, in which the-most-honourable men (selected) from  
 cunctis ordinibus judicarent,  
 all the orders (of men in the state, sit as judges and) decide,  
 nunquam existimavi, inimicos Milonis  
 'I-have never 'thought, (that) the enemies of-Milo  
 habituros esse ullam spem ad extinguendam, non  
 would-have any hope to destroy, not  
 modò salutem, sed etiam infringendam  
 only (his) safety, but even (to) weaken (or diminish  
 gloriam, per tales viros Quanquam in hac  
 his) glory, by such mer Although in this

causâ, judices, non abutemur tribunatu T.  
 raise, O judges, 'we-will not 'misuse the tribuneship of-T.

Annii, que omnibus rebus gestis pro salute  
 Annii, and all (his) deeds performed for the safety

reipublicæ, ad defensionem hujus  
 of-the-republic, for (the purpose of) defence (in) this

criminis. Nisi videritis oculis,  
 accusation. Unless you-may-have-seen 'with (your own) 'eyes, (that)

insidias factas a Clodio Miloni, nec depre-  
 ambuscades were-laid by Clodius (against) Milo, 'nor shall-we-

caturî sumus, ut condonetis nobis hoc crimen,  
 entreat (you), that you-pardon us this crime,

propter multa præclara merita in rempublicam;  
 on-account-of (our) many eminent services for the republic;

nec postulaturi, ut, si mors P. Clodii fuerit  
 nor shall-we-request (of you), that, if the death of-P. Clodius was

vestra salus, idcirco assignetis eam virtuti  
 your safety, that-therefore you-should-attribute it to-the-courage

Milonis, potius quàm felicitati Romani populi.  
 of Milo, rather than to-the-good-fortune of-the-Roman people.

Sin illius insidiæ fuerint clariores  
 But-if his [Clodius's] ambuscades will-be (made) clearer (than)

hac luce, tum denique obsecrabo que obtestabor  
 this light (of day), then in-fine I-entreat and supplicate

vos, judices, si amisimus cetera, ut saltem  
 you, O judges, (that) if we-have-lost (all) the rest, that at-least

hoc relinquatur nobis, ut liceat defendere  
 this may-be-left to-us, that it-may-be-allowed (us) to-defend

impune vitam ab audaciâ que telis  
 with-impunity (our) life from the audacity and weapons

inimicorum.

of-our-enemies.

3. Sed antequam venio ad eam orationem,

But before I-come to that (part of) the speech,

quæ est propria vestræ quæstionis,

which is properly your inquiry, (and which especially

ea videntur, refutanda esse,

belongs to this trial), those-things seem, (necessary) to-be-refuted,



quæ sæpe jactata sunt et in senatu ab  
 which 'have often 'been-brought-forth both in the senate by (our)  
 inimicis, et in concione ab improbis, et  
 enemies, and in the assembly-of-the-people by bad-men, and  
 paulo ante ab accusatoribus, ut, omni  
 a little before (this) by (our) accusers, so-that, all  
 errore sublato, possitis plane videre rem quæ  
 error being-removed, you-may plainly see the affair which  
 veniat in judicium. Negant esse fas ei intueri  
 may-come on trial. They-deny that-it-is right for-him to-see  
 lucem, qui fateatur hominem occisum esse a  
 the light, who confesses (that) a man has-been-killed by  
 se. In qua urbe tandem stultissimi homines  
 him. In what city then 'do most-foolish men  
 disputant hoc? Nempe in eâ, quæ primum  
 'dispute about-this? Namely in that-city, which first  
 vidit judicium de capite — M. Horatii,  
 saw a trial for life (namely that) of-M. Horatius,  
 fortissimi viri, qui, civitate nondum liberâ,  
 a most-brave man, who, the city 'being not-yet 'free,  
 tamen liberatus est comitiis  
 (but under the kingly government,) yet was-acquitted by-the-comitia  
 Romani populi, quum fateretur sororem  
 of-the-Roman people, although he-confessed (that his) sister  
 interfectam esse suâ manu. An est quisquam,  
 was-killed by-his-own hand. Or is-there any-one,  
 qui ignoret hoc, <sup>quum</sup> quærat de  
 who may-be-ignorant of-this, when inquiry-is-made concerning  
 homine occiso, aut solere negari  
 a man, (who has been) slain, either it-is-usual for-it-to-be-denied  
 omninò factum esse, aut defendi  
 altogether (that) it-has-been-done or for-it-to-be-defended (because)  
 factum esse recte et jure? Nisi vero existimatis  
 it-was-done rightly and lawfully? Unless indeed you-think  
 P. Africanum fuisse dementem, qui, quum  
 (that) P. Africanus was out-of-his-mind, who, when  
 interrogaretur in concione, a C. Carbone,  
 it-was-asked in an assembly-of-the-people, by C. Carbo,

tribuno plebis seditiose, quid sentiret  
a tribune of-the-people in-a-faction-manner, what he-thought  
de morte T. Gracchi, responderit videri  
of the death of-T. Gracchus, replied (that) he-seemed-to-be  
jure cæsum. Enim neque posset ille  
rightly killed. For neither could that (distinguished)  
Servilius Ahala aut P. Nasica, aut L. Opinius, aut  
Servilius Ahala or P. Nasica, or L. Opinius, or  
C. Marius, aut, me consule, senatus  
C. Marius, or, I (being) consul, the senate (itself)  
haberi non nefarius, si esset nefas  
be-considered (as) not wicked, if it-was unlawful (that)  
sceleratos cives interfici. Itaque, judices, non  
criminal citizens be-put-to-death. Therefore, O judges, not  
sine causâ doctissimi homines prodiderunt memoriæ  
without reason most-learned men have-transmitted to-memory  
hoc, etiam fictis fabulis, eum, qui necavisset  
this, even in-fabulous stories, (that) he, who had-killed  
matrem causâ ulciscendi patris,  
(his) mother for-the-purpose of-avenging (his) father's (death),  
sententiis hominum variatis, libe  
the opinions of-men (who were his judges) being-divided, he-was.  
ratum, non solùm divinâ sententiâ, sed etiam  
acquitted, not only by-divine opinion, but even  
sapientissimæ deæ. Quod si  
(by that) of-the-most-wise goddess [Minerva]. Because if (the laws of)  
duodecim tabulæ voluerunt nocturnum furem  
the twelve tables allowed a nocturnal robber  
interfici impune quoquo modo, autem  
to-be-killed with-impunity in-any manner, but (one who robbed)  
diurnum, si defenderet se telo; quis  
in-the-day-time, (only) if he-defended himself with-a-weapon; who  
est, qui quoquo modo quis interfectum sit,  
is-there, who in-whatever manner any-one may-be-killed,  
putet puniendum, quum videat  
may-consider that-he-ought-to-be-punished, when he-sees (that)

aliquando gladium porrigi nobis ab legibus ipsis  
 sometimes a sword is-presented to-us by the laws themselves  
 ad occidendum hominem.  
 to kill a man.

4. Atqui si est ullum tempus  
 But if there-is any time (or occasion, that)

hominis necandi jure, quæ sunt multa,  
 a man might-be-killed with-right, (and) which are many,  
 certe illud est non modò justum, verùm etiam  
 certainly that is not only just, but also  
 necessarium, quum illata vis defenditur vi.  
 necessary, when offered violence is-resisted by-violence

Quum militaris tribunus, in exercitu C. Marii,  
 When a military tribune, in the army of-C. Marius, (and)  
 propinquus ejus imperatoris, eriperet pudicitiam  
 a relation of-that commander, attempted violence

militi, interfectus est ab eo  
 (on the person of) a soldier, he-was-killed by him (the soldier)  
 cui afferebat vim. Enim probus adolescens  
 to-whom he-offered violence. For the virtuous youth  
 maluit facere periculose, quàm perpeti turpiter.  
 chose-rather to-act dangerously, than suffer shamefully

Atque ille summus  
 [he preferred incurring danger, to dishonour]. And that illustrious  
 vir liberavit hunc, solutum scelere, periculo.  
 man (Marius) delivered him, absolved from-crime, from-danger.

Vero quæ injusta nex potest inferri insidiatori,  
 But what unjust death can be-inflicted on-the-waylayer  
 et latroni? Quid nostri comitatus,  
 and robber? What 'do our escorts (on a journey),

quid gladii volunt? quos certe non  
 what (do our) swords 'mean? which certainly 'it-would not  
 liceret habere, si nullo pacto liceret  
 'be-allowed (us) to-have, if 'it-were in-no manner 'allowed

uti. Igitur, judices, hæc est non scripta  
 to-use (them) Therefore, O judges, this is not a written

lex, sed nata, quam non didicimus.  
 law, but a natural-law, which 'we-have not 'learned,

**accepimus,** **legimus,** **verùm arripuimus,**  
 received (by tradition, or) read, but have-taken,  
**hausimus,** **expressimus** **ex naturâ ipsâ, ad**  
 imbibed (and) extracted (it) from nature herself, (in)  
**quam non docti, sed facti,**  
 which 'we-were not 'instructed, but (for which) we-were-made, 'we-are  
**non instituti sumus, sed imbuti ut si**  
 not 'taught (it), but are-imbued (with it), so-that, if  
**nostra vita incidisset in aliquas insidias, si in**  
 our life should-be-endangered (by) any snares, if (by)  
**vim, et in tela aut latronum aut**  
 violence, and (by) the weapons either of-robbers or  
**inimicorum, omnis ratio salutis expediendæ esset**  
 of-enemies, every means of-saving-life would-be  
**honestâ. Enim leges silent**  
 honourable. For the laws are silent, (and inoperative, in contests)  
**inter arma, nec jubent se**  
 with arms (in hand), nor (do the laws) command (that) they  
**expectari, quum ei qui velit expectare**  
 be-waited-for, when on-him who might-wish to-wait (for the en-  
**injusta poena luenda sit,**  
 forcement of the laws) an unjust punishment might-be-inflicted,  
**ante quàm justâ repetenda.**  
 before that a just-one might-be-demanded, (or obtained by him). [A

great calamity, or even death, might be inflicted, before the law could be

**Etsi lex ipsa persapienter, et quodam-**  
 enforced.] Although the law itself very-wisely, and in-some-  
**modo tacite dat potestatem defendendi, quæ**  
 measure tacitly gives the power of-defending, which (does)  
**non hominem occidi, sed vetat esse**  
 not (allow, that) a man be-killed, but forbids (any one) to-be  
**cum telo causâ occidendi hominis;**  
 with a weapon [to have a weapon] for-the-purpose of-killing a man;  
**ut, quum causâ, non telum**  
 so-that, as the cause (of carrying a weapon), not the weapon (itself),  
**quæretur, qui esset usus telo, causâ**  
 is-inquired-into, he-who made-use of-a-weapon, for-the-purpose



defendendi sui, judicaretur habuisse telum  
 of-defending himself, would-be-judged to-have-had the weapon

non causâ occidendi hominis. Quapropter,  
 not for-the-purpose of-killing a man. Wherefore,

judices, hoc maneat in causâ;  
 O judges, 'let this 'remain in the cause [let this be an established

enim non dubito, quin  
 principle in this cause]; for 'I-do not 'doubt, that

probaturus sim meam defensionem vobis,  
 I-shall-prove (and make good) my defence before-you,

si memineritis id, quod potestis non oblivisci  
 if you-remember that, which you-can not have-forgotten

insidiatorem posse interfici  
 (that) a waylayer (and plotter against one's life) may be-slain

jure.  
 lawfully.

5. Sequitur illud, quod sæpissime  
 There-follows that, [the next thing is], which 'is very-often

dicatur a(b) inimicis Milonis, senatum judicasse  
 'asserted by the enemies of-Milo, (that) the senate had-judged

cædem in qua P. Clodius occisus est,  
 (that) the slaughter in which P. Clodius was-killed,

factam esse contra rempublicam. Vero illam  
 was-done against the republic. But that (act of Milo)

senatus comprobavit, non solùm suis sententis, sed  
 the senate approved, not only by-their votes, but

etiam studiis. Enim quoties illa  
 also 'by (their) 'zeal (in his favour). For how-often 'has that

causa acta est a nobis in senatu? quibus  
 cause been-pleaded by us in the senate? with-what

assensionibus universi ordinis? quam  
 assenting-approbations of-the-whole order (of the senate)? (and) that

nec tacitis, nec occultis? Enim quando frequen-  
 neither silent, nor concealed? For when in-a-very-

tissimo senatu quatuor, aut summùm quinque,  
 full senate (only) four, or at-most five,

inventi sunt, qui non probarent causam Milonis.  
 were-found, who 'did not 'approve the cause of-Milo.

Illæ intermortuæ conciones hujus ambusti tribuni  
Those lifeless harangues of-that scorched tribune

plebis declarant, quibus meam potentiam  
of-the-people show (that), in-which (harangues) my power

quotidie invidiose criminabatur, quum  
(and influence) 'is daily invidiously 'found-fault-with, when

diceret, senatum decernere non quod sentiret,  
he-says, (that) the senate decrees not what it-might-think

sed quod ego vellem. Quæ quidem si  
but what I might-wish. Which indeed if

appellanda est potentia potius, quam mediocris  
it-is-to-be-called power rather than a moderate

auctoritas, aut propter magna merita  
authority (or influence), either on-account-of great services (done)

in rempublicam in bonis causis, aut nonnulla gratia  
for the republic in good causes, or some favour

apud bonos, propter hos meos officiosas  
(and credit) among the good, on-account-of these my serviceable

labores; sane appelletur ita,  
(and obliging) labours; well-then let-it-be-called so,

dummodo nos utamur eâ pro salute bonorum  
provided we use it for the-safety of-the-good

contra amentiam perditorum. Vero etsi est non  
against the madness of-the-wicked. But although it-is not

iniqua, tamen senatus nunquam putavit  
an unjust (investigation), yet the senate never thought

hanc quæstionem constituendam. Enim  
(that) that investigation ought-to-be-instituted. For

erant leges, erant quæstiones, vel de  
there-were laws, there-were inquisitions, either concerning

cæde, vel de vi; nec mors P. Clodii  
murder, or concerning violence; nor 'did the death of-P. Clodius-

afferebat tantum mœrorem ac luctum senatui, ut  
'bring such-great grief and mourning-to-the-senate, that

nova quæstio constitueretur.  
a new (and particular) inquisition should-be-instituted (by them).

Enim potestas decernendi iudicium de illo  
For (when) the power of-ordering a trial concerning that

incesto stupro cujus erepta esset senatus  
 sacrilegious crime of-his [Clodius] was-taken (from) the-senate ;  
 quis potest credere, senatum putasse  
 who can believe, (that) the-senate had-thought-of  
 constituendum novum judicium, de ejus  
 constituting a new (and special) trial, concerning his  
 interita? Cur igitur senatus decrevit,  
 leath? Why therefore 'has the senate 'decreed, (that)  
 incendium curiæ, oppugnationem ædium  
 the burning of-the-senate-house, the attack on-the-house  
 M. Lepidi, hanc ipsam cædem factum esse contra  
 of-M. Lepidus, (and) this same murder was-done against  
 rempublicam? Quia nulla vis, in liberâ civitate,  
 the republic? Because no violence, in a free state,  
 unquam suscepta est inter cives, non contra  
 'has ever 'occurred among citizens, (that is) not against  
 rempublicam. Enim illa defensio contra vim est  
 the republic. For that defence against violence is  
 non unquam optanda, sed nonnunquam est  
 not ever to-be-desired, but sometimes it-is  
 necessaria. Nisi vero aut ille dies, quo  
 necessary. Unless indeed either that day, on-which  
 T. Gracchus cæsus est, aut ille quo Caius, aut  
 T. Gracchus was slain, or that on-which Caius was, or  
 arma Saturnini, etiamsi oppressa sunt e  
 the arms of-Saturninus, although repressed on-the-part-of  
 republica, tamen non vulnerarunt  
 the republic, yet 'they-have not wounded (or injured)  
 rempublicam.  
 the republic.

6. Itaque ego ipse decrevi, quum constaret  
 Therefore I myself voted, when it-was-evident  
 cædem factam esse in Appiâ, non  
 (that) the murder was-committed on the Appian (way), 'that not  
 eum, qui defendisset se, fecisse contra  
 he, who had-defended himself, acted against  
 rempublicam; sed, quum inessent insidiæ et  
 the republic; but, as there were snares and

vis in re, reservavi crimen judicio, notavi  
violence in the-affair, I-reserved the guilt for-trial, I-admitted

rem. Quod si licuisset, per illum furiosum  
the deed. Because if it-had-been-allowed, by that furious

tribunum, senatui perficere quod sentiebat,  
tribune, to-the-senate to-perfect what it-thought,

haberemus nullam novam quæstionem. Enim  
we-should-have-had no new inquisition. For

decernebat, ut quæreretur veteribus  
it-decreed, that (the affair) should-be-investigated according-to-old

legibus, tantummodo extra  
(and established) laws, only out-of (the usual)

ordinem. Sententia divisa est, nescio  
order. The proposition (or resolve) was-divided, I-know-not

quo postulante; enim est nihil  
by-whom (it was) moved (to do so); for it-is not

necesse me proferre flagitia omnium. Sic  
necessary for-me to-bring-forward the infamy of-all. So

reliqua auctoritas senatûs  
the remaining authority of-the-senate (to act on the entire proposition)

sublata est, emptâ intercessionione.  
was-taken-away, by-the-bought veto (of a tribune). (Ob-)

At enim Cn. Pompeius suâ rogatione  
but indeed Cn. Pompey by-his bringing-a-law before-the-people

judicavit, et de re, et de causâ; enim  
pronounced-judgment, both concerning the fact, and the cause; for

tulit de cæde, quæ facta esset  
he-brought-forward (a law) concerning the murder, which was-committed

in Appiâ viâ, in qua P. Clodius occisus est.  
on the Appian way, in which P. Clodius was-slain.

Quid ergo tulit? Nempe ut  
What therefore did-he-bring-forward? Namely that

quæreretur. Porro quid quærendum est?  
it-should-be-investigated. But what is-to-be-inquired-into?

Ne factum sit? At constat. A quo? At  
Whether was it-done? But (that) is-evident. By whom? But that

paret. Igitur vidit etiam in confessione  
is manifest. 'He therefore saw even in the confession



facti, tamen defensionem juris posse  
 of-the-fact, (that) yet a defence of-the-right could  
 suscipi. Quod nisi videsset,  
 be-maintained. Because unless he [Pompey] might-have-perceived,  
 eum, qui fateretur, posse absolvi, quum  
 (that) he, who confessed, might be-acquitted, when  
 videret nos fateri, neque unquam jussisset  
 he-saw (that) we confessed, neither would-he ever have-ordered  
 quæri, nec dedisset vobis hanc tam  
 (the affair) to-be-tried, nor would-he-have-given you that so  
 salutarem literam in judicando, quam  
 salutary letter (of acquittal) in pronouncing-judgment, as  
 illam tristem. Cn. Pompeius  
 (likewise) that sad-one (of condemnation). Cn. Pompey  
 videtur vero mihi, non modò judicasse nihil  
 seems indeed to-me, not only to-have-adjudged nothing  
 gravius contra Milonem, sed etiam statuuisse,  
 unfavourable against Milo, nor even to-have-ordained,  
 quid oporteret vos spectare in  
 what it-might-be-proper (that) you should-look-to in  
 judicando. Nam, qui non  
 forming (your) judgment. For, he-who (did) not (inflict)  
 pœnam confessioni, sed dedit  
 punishment (after) confession, but gave (the cause for trial and)  
 defensionem, is putavit, causam  
 defence, 'he (certainly) 'thought, (that) the cause  
 interitûs quærendam, non interitum.  
 of-the-death was-to-be-inquired-into, not the death (itself).  
 Jam ipse profectò dicet illud, ne quod  
 Now he-himself 'will certainly 'tell (us) that, whether what  
 fecit suâ sponte, putarit tribuendum  
 he-did (of) his-own accord, he-might think, ought to-be-attributed  
 Publio Clodio, an temporî.  
 to-Publius Clodius, or to-the-times.

7. Nobilissimus vir suæ domæ, propugnator  
 The-most-illustrious man of-his family, the-defender

senatûs, atque quidem illis temporibus, pæne  
 of-the-senate, and indeed in-those times, almost

pati onus, avunculus hujus nostri judicis,  
 the patron (thereof), the uncle of-this our judge,  
 fortissimi viri M. Catonis, M. Drusus tribunus  
 the most-brave man M. Cato, M. Drusus a tribune  
 plebis occisus est. Populus nihil consultus  
 of-the-people was-killed. The people 'were not 'consulted  
 de ejus morte, nulla quæstio decreta est a  
 concerning his death, no inquisition was decreed by  
 senatu. Quantum luctum fuisse in hac urbe,  
 the senate. What mourning was-there in this city, (as)  
 accepimus a nostris patribus, quum illa nocturna  
 we-have-heard from our fathers, when that nocturnal  
 vis illata esset P. Africano, quiescenti  
 violence was-offered to-P. Africanus, [when he was killed] reposing  
 suæ domi? quis non tum gemit? quis non  
 in-his house? who 'did not then 'groan? who 'did not  
 arsit dolore, quem omnes cuperent esse  
 'burn with grief, whom all desired to-be  
 immortalem, si posset fieri, ejus mortem esse  
 immortal, if it-could be-so, (that) his death was  
 ne quidem necessariam expectatam?  
 not indeed a necessary (and) expected (one)?

## Num

[That his death was not even a natural one?] Whether 'there-was

igitur ulla quæstio lata est, de morte  
 therefore any inquiry 'brought-forward, concerning the death

Africani? Certe nulla; quid ita? Quia clari  
 of-Africanus? Certainly none; why so? Because illustrious

homines non necantur alio facinore,  
 men 'are not 'killed by-one crime, (and)

obscuri alio  
 obscure-men by-another. [The crime is the same, in killing an illustrious

## Intersit

man, as in killing an obscure one.] Grant (that) there-may-be-a-difference

inter dignitatem vitæ summorum atque  
 in the dignity (and worth) of-life of-the-highest and

infimorum; quidem mors illata per scelus  
 of-the-lowest; indeed death inflicted by crime

teneatur et iisdem poenis et  
is-held (amenable) both to-the-same punishments and

legibus. Nisi forte erit magis  
laws (for all classes of men). Unless perchance it-were a greater

parricida, si qui necaverit consularem patrem.  
parricide, [crime,] if one should-kill a consular father,

quàm si quis humilem, aut mors  
than if one (should kill) an humble-citizen, or (that) the death

P. Clodii erit eo atrocior, quod is  
of-P. Clodius should-be in-that the-more-atrocious, because he

interfectus sit in monumentis suorum majorum.  
may-have-been-killed among the monuments of-his ancestors.

Enim hoc saepe  
[On the Appian way, which they made.] For this 'is often

dicitur istis; proinde quasi ille  
'said, by-these (advocates of Clodius); consequently as-if that

Appius Cæcus muniverit viam, non  
(celebrated) Appius Cæcus had-constructed the road, not (that)

populus uteretur qua, sed ubi sui posteri  
the people might-use it, but (that) there (on it) his posterity

latrocinarentur impune. Itaque quum, in istâ  
might-rob with impunity. Therefore when, in this

eâdem Appiâ viâ, P. Clodius occidisset M. Papirium,  
same Appian way, P. Clodius had-killed M. Papirius,

ornatissimum Romanum equitem, illud facinus fuit  
a most-accomplished Roman knight, that crime was

non puniendum; enim nobilis homo occiderat  
not to-be-punished; for a noble man had-killed

Romanum equitem, in suis monumentis;  
a Roman knight, among his (family) monuments;

nunc nomen ejusdem Appiæ quantas  
now the name of-that-same Appian (road) what

tragœdias excitat! Quæ, antea  
tragedies does-it-excite! (This same road) which, (when) heretofore

imbuta est, cruentatâ cæde honesti atque  
it-was-wet with-the-bloody murder of-an-honourable and

innocentis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebè  
innocent man was-not-mentioned, the same 'is now often

usurpatur      posteaquam      sanguine  
'mentioned      after-that      (it has been wet)      with-the-blood

latronis      et      parricidæ. Sed quid      ego      commemoro  
of-a-robber      and      parricide. But      why      'do I      'mention

illa?      Servus      P. Clodii      comprehensus est,      in  
those-things?      A slave      of-P. Clodius      was arrested,      in

templo      Castoris, quem ille      collocaret      ad  
the temple      of-Castor,      whom      he had-placed there      for-the-purpose

interficiendum      Cn. Pompeium;      sica      extorta est  
of-killing      Cn. Pompeius;      the dagger      was wrested

de      manibus,      confitenti;      postea      Pompeius  
from (his)      hands,      he-confessing;      after-this      Pompey

caruit      foro,      caruit      senatu,  
was-wanting (absent) from the forum,      was absent from      the senate,

caruit      publico;      texit      se      januâ  
was-absent from the public;      he-protected himself 'by (his) 'doors

ac      parietibus, non      jure      legum      que      judiciorum.  
and      walls,      not by-the-right of-laws      and (power) of-tribunals.

Num      quæ      rogatio      lata,      num      quæ      nova  
Now      what      motion-for-a-law was-offered,      or      what      new

quæstio      decreta est? Atqui, si      res,      si      vir,  
inquisition      was-decreed? But,      if the thing (itself), if the man,

si      ullum      tempus      fuit      dignum,  
if      any      time (or occasion) was      worthy (of an extraordinary

certe      hæc      fuerunt      omnia, in      illâ      causâ,  
investigation), certainly these      were      all,      in that      cause,

summa.      Insidiator      erat      collocatus      in      foro,  
the greatest. The concealed-assassin was      placed      in the forum,

atque      in      ipso      vestibulo      senatûs;      autem      mors  
and      in the very      vestibule      of-the-senate;      but      death

parabatur      ei      viro, in      cujus      vitâ      salus      civitatis  
was-prepared for-that man, on      whose      life      the safety      of-the-state

nitebatur;      porro,      eo      tempore      reipublicæ,      quo,  
depended;      moreover, at-that      time      of-the-republic, in-which,

si      ille      unus      occidisset,      non      solùm      hæc  
if      he (though only) one      had-fallen,      not      alone      this

civitas, sed      omnes      gentes      concidissent. Nisi      vero,  
state,      but      all      nations      had-fallen. Nor      indeed



quia res non perfecta est, fuit non  
because the thing 'was not 'accomplished, it-was not

punienda; proinde quasi exitus rerum, non  
to-be-punished; consequently as-if the result of-things, not

consilia hominum vindicentur legibus. Minus  
the-intentions of-men were-to-be-vindicated by-the-laws. Less

dolendum fuit, re non perfectâ, sed  
would have-to-be-grieved-for, the thing not being-accomplished, but

nihilominus certe puniendum. Quoties, judices,  
nevertheless certainly it-ought-to-be-punished. How-often, O judges,

ego ipse effugi ex telis P. Clodii et  
have I myself 'escaped from the weapons of-P. Clodius and

ex ejus cruentis manibus? ex quibus, si vel mea  
from his bloody hands? from which, if either my

fortuna, vel reipublicæ non servasset  
good-fortune, or (that) of-the-republic 'had not 'saved

me, qui tandem tulisset quæstionem de  
me, who in-fine would-have-moved-for an inquisition concerning

meo interitu.  
my death.

8. Sed sumus stulti, qui audeamus conferre  
But we-are foolish, who dare to compare

Drusum, qui Africanum, Pompeium, mosmet  
Drusus, who (also) Africanus, Pompey, (or) we

ipsos cum P. Clodio. Illa fuerunt tolerabilia;  
ourselves with P. Clodius. Those-things were to-be-borne-with;

nemo potest ferre mortem P. Clodii æquo  
(but) no-one can bear the death of-P. Clodius with-undisturbed

animo. Senatus luget, equester ordo  
mind. The senate mourns, the equestrian order

mœret, tota civitas confecta est  
is-afflicted-with-grief, the whole state weighed-down

senio municipia squalent,  
with-the-languor-of-old-age, the municipalities are-in-mourning,

coloniae affliguntur, denique agri ipsi  
the colonies are-afflicted-with-grief, in-fine the fields themselves

desiderant tam beneficium, tam salutarem, tam  
miss so beneficent, so useful, so

**mansuetum civem.** <sup>2</sup> **Ea fuit non causa, judices,**  
 mild a citizen. This was not the reason, O judges,

**profectò fuit non, cur Pompeius censeret**  
 certainly it was not, why Pompey thought (that a law)

**quæstionem ferendum sibi; sed,**  
 for-a-special-inquiry-and trial should-be-moved-for (by) him; but,

**sapiens homo atque præditus altâ, et**  
 (being) a wise man and endowed with a profound, and

**quodam divinâ mente, vidit multa; illum**  
 a certain divine mind, he-saw many-things (that) he

**fuisse inimicum sibi, Milonem**  
 (Clodius) had-been an enemy to-him, (but) Milo

**familiarem; in communi lætitiâ omnium, si**  
 an intimate-friend; in the general joy of-all, if

**ipse etiam gauderet, timuit ne fides**  
 he-himself also should-rejoice, he-feared lest confidence (in his)

**reconciliatæ gratiæ videretur infirmior;**  
 reconciliation (with Clodius) might-seem more-weak;

**etiam vidit multa alia, sed maxime illud,**  
 'he also 'saw many other-things, but especially this, (that)

**quamvis atrociter ipse tulisset, tamen**  
 however severe (the law) he-himself may-have-proposed, yet (that)

**vos judicaturos fortiter. Itaque delegit e**  
 you would-decide fearlessly. Therefore he-has-selected from

**florentissimis ordinibus lumina ipsa.**  
 the most illustrious ranks the lights themselves (of the state, for

**Neque verò, quod nonnulli dictitant, in**  
 judges). Nor indeed, as some often-say, in

**legendis iudicibus secrevit meos amicos.**  
 selecting the judges has-he-separated (and passed by) my friends.

**Enim neque justissimus vir cogitavit hoc,**  
 For neither 'has (this) most-just man 'thought this,

**neque, in legendis bonis viris, potuisset assequi**  
 nor, in selecting good men, could-he have-accomplished

**id, etiamsi cupisset. Enim mea gratia**  
 that, even-if he-had-wished. For my favour (and influence)

**non continetur familiaritatibus,**  
 is not 'limited (to my) intimacies, [intimate friends,]

quæ possunt non patere late, propterea quòd  
 which can not extend far, because that (our  
 consuetudines victûs possunt non esse cum  
 habits of-social-living can not be with

multis; sed, si  
 many, (and necessarily restricts us to few social companions); but, if

possumus quid, possumus  
 we-can (effect) any thing (by our influence), we-can (do it only)

ex eo, quòd respublica conjunxit nos cum  
 through this, that the republic has-united us with

bonis; ex quibus, quum ille legeret  
 the good; from-among whom, when he [Pompey] had-selected

optimos viros, que arbitraretur id maxime  
 the best men, and he-thought (that) this greatly

pertinere ad suam fidem,  
 appertained to his credit, (and the confidence placed in him),

potuit non non legere studiosos mei.  
 He-could not but select (those) favourably-disposed (to) me.

Quod vero voluit te L. Domiti maxime præesse,  
 That indeed he-wished you O. L. Domitius especially to-preside,

huic quæstioni, quæsit nihil aliud, nisi  
 over-this investigation, he-sought-of nothing else, unless

justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem, fidem.  
 justice, dignity, humanity, and good-faith.

Tulit ut

He [Pompey] brought forward (in his law) that (the president) 'should

necesse esset consularem; credo, quod  
 necessarily 'be a man-of-consular-dignity; I-believe, because

ducebat esse munus principum  
 he-thought (that) it-was the duty of-the-higher-orders

resistere et levitati multitudinis et  
 to-oppose-themselves both to-the-fickleness of-the-multitude and

temeritati perditorum. Potissimum creavit  
 to-the-rashness of-the-profligate. Above-all he-selected

te ex consularibus. Enim, jam ab  
 you from-among those-of-consular-rank. For, already from (your)

adolescentiâ, dederas maxima documenta,  
 youth, you-had-given the greatest proofs,  
 quàm contemneres populares insanias.  
 how-much you-despised popular madness.

9. Quamobrem, judices, ut aliquando veniamus  
 Wherefore, O judges, that at-length we-may-come  
 ad causam que crimen, si neque omnis  
 to the cause (itself) and the accusation, if neither all  
 confessio facti est inusitata, neque quidquam  
 confession of-the-deed is unusual, nor (that) any-thing  
 judicatum est a senatu, de nostrâ causâ, aliter  
 was-determined by the senate, about our cause, otherwise  
 ac nos vellemus, et lator legis ipse, quum  
 than we wished, and the proposer of-the-law himself, when  
 esset nulla controversia facti, tamen  
 there-was no dispute (concerning) the deed, however  
 voluit esse disceptationem juris,  
 desired that-there-should-be a discussion of-the-lawfulness  
 et judices electi, que is præpositus  
 (thereof), and judges being-chosen, and he appointed-to-pretide  
 quæstioni, qui disceptet hæc juste que  
 over-the-investigation, who would-decide these-things justly and  
 sapienter, reliquum est, judices, ut debeatis jam,  
 wisely, it-remains, O judges, that you-ought now,  
 quærere nihil aliud, nisi uter fecerit  
 to-inquire into-nothing else, unless which-one laid  
 insidias utri. Quod quò possitis  
 snares-and-ambushes for-the-other. Which that you-may  
 facilius perspicere argumentis,  
 the-more-easily perceive (what relates) to-the-argument,  
 quæso attendite diligenter, dum breviter expono  
 I-treat (you) attend carefully, while 'I briefly 'explain  
 vobis rem gestam. Quum P. Clodius statuisset  
 to-you the occurrence. When P. Clodius had-determined  
 vexare rempublicam omni scelere in  
 to-harass the republic by-all (kinds of) wickedness in (his)  
 præturâ, que videret comitia  
 prætorship, and (as) he-saw (that) the comitia (for electing officers)



ita tracta esse anno superiore, ut  
 'had-been so-long 'delayed in-the-year before, that  
 posset non gerere præturam multos menses, qui  
 he-could not hold the prætorship many months, he-who  
 non spectaret gradum honoris, ut ceteri, sed  
 did not regard the degree of-honour, as others (did), but  
 et vellet effugere L. Paullum, civem  
 also he-wished to-avoid (having) L. Paullum, a citizen (endowed)  
 singulari virtute, collegam, et quæreret  
 with singular virtue, (for his) colleague, and (as) he (also) desired  
 integrum annum ad dilacerandam rempublicam,  
 an entire year to dilacerate the republic,  
 subito reliquit suum annum, que transtulit sese  
 suddenly he-gave-up his year, and transferred himself  
 in proximum annum, non, ut fit aliquâ  
 into the next year, not, that it-was-done through-any  
 religione, sed, ut haberet, quod ipse dicebat,  
 religious-scruples, but, that he-might-have, as he said,  
 plenum atque integrum annum, ad gerendam  
 a full and entire year, for discharging  
 præturam, hoc est ad evertendam rempublicam.  
 the prætorship, that is for overturning the republic.  
 Occurrebat ei, suam præturam futuram  
 It-occurred to-him, (that) his prætorship would-be  
 mancam ac debilem, Milone consule; porro  
 lame and weak, Milo (being) consul; moreover  
 videbat eum fieri consulem summo  
 it-seemed, (that) he would-be-made consul with-the-greatest  
 consensu Romani populi. Contulit se ad ejus  
 unanimity of-the-Roman people. He betook himself to his  
 competitors, sed ita, ut ipse solus  
 [Milo's] competitors, but so, that he-himself-alone  
 gubernaret totam petitionem, etiam illis invitis;  
 might-rule the entire canvass, even they being-unwilling;  
 ut sustineret, ut dictitabat tota comitia suis  
 that he-sustained, as 'he often-'said, the whole comitia on-his  
 humeris. Convocabat tribus, interponebat se;  
 shoulders. He-convoked the tribes, he-interposed himself

conscribebat novam Collinam delectu  
 he-formed a-new Colline (tribe) by-the-enrolment-of-the  
 perditissimorum civium. Quanto ille  
 most-worthless citizens. As-much-as he [Clodius]  
 miscebat, tanto magis hic  
 threw things-into-confusion, so-much the more this-one [Milo]  
 convalescebat in dies. Ubi homo  
 gained-strength (from day) to day. When the-man (Clodius  
 paratissimus ad omne facinus vidit, fortissimum  
 most-ready for every crime saw, (that) the-most-brave  
 virum, suum inimicissimum certissimum  
 person (Milo), his greatest-enemy (was) most-certain (to be)  
 consulem, que intellexit id sæpe  
 consul, and he-understood (that) this 'was often  
 declaratum esse, non solum sermonibus, sed etiam  
 'declared, not only by-the-conversation, but also  
 suffragiis Romani populi, cœpit agere palam, et  
 by-the-votes of-the-Roman people, he-began to-act openly, and  
 aperte dicere, Milonem occidendum esse.  
 plainly to-say, (that) Milo must-be-killed.

Deduxerat ex Apennino agrestes et barbaros  
 He-had-brought-down from the Apennines rustic and barbarous  
 servos, quos videbatis, quibus depopulatus erat  
 slaves, whom you-saw, with-whom he ravaged  
 publicas silvas, que vexarat Etruriam. Res erat  
 the public forests, and harassed Etruria. The affair was  
 minime obscura. Enim dictitabat palam,  
 by-no-means concealed. For he-often-said openly, (that)  
 consulatum posse non eripi Miloni  
 the consulship 'could not 'be-taken-from Milo (but that his)  
 vitam posse. Hoc sæpe significavit in senatu;  
 life could. This 'he often 'hinted in the senate;  
 dixit in concione; quin etiam  
 he-said (it openly) in the-public-assemblies-of-the-people; but also  
 respondit M. Favonio, fortissimo viro, quærenti ex  
 he-replied to-M. Favonius, a very-brave man, inquiring of  
 eo qua spe fureret, Milone vivo,  
 him with-what hope he-thus-gave-way-to-his-fury, Milo being-alive,

respondit triduo, aut summum quatrduo,  
 he-answered (that) in three-days, or at-most in-four-days, (that)  
 illum periturum esse; quam vocem ejus, Favonius  
 he would-be-dead; which expression of-his, Favonius  
 detulit statim ad hunc M. Catonem.  
 related immediately to this M. Cato, (here present as judge).

10. Interim, quum Clodius sciret, (enim neque  
 In-the-mean-time, when Clodius knew, (for neither  
 erat difficilis scire), esse sollemne,  
 was-it difficult to-know-it), (that) there-was a yearly,  
 legitimum necessarium iter Miloni Lanuvium,  
 legitimate (and) necessary journey for Milo to-Lanuvium,  
 ante XIII diem Kalendis Februarias  
 before the XIII day of-the Kalends of-February [18th of January]  
 ad prodendum flaminem, quod Milo erat dictator  
 to nominate the priest, because Milo was dictator  
 Lanuvii, ipse subitò pridie profectus est  
 of Lanuvium, he (Clodius) suddenly, on-the-day-before, proceeded-from  
 Româ, ut collocaret insidias ante suum fundum  
 Rome, that he-might-place ambuscades before his farm  
 Miloni (quod intellectum est re). Atque ita  
 for Milo as was-understood by-the-thing (itself). And he-so  
 profectus est, ut relinqueret turbulentam  
 departed (from Rome), that he-left a turbulent  
 concionem, in qua ejus furor desideratus est,  
 assemblage-of-people, in which his violence was-missed,  
 quæ habita est illo ipso die, quam  
 (and) which was-held on-that same day, which 'he-would  
 nunquam reliquisset, nisi voluisset obire  
 never 'have-left, unless he-wished to-go (and make  
 locum que tempus facinoris. Autem  
 use of) the place and time (for committing) a crime. But  
 Milo, quum fuisset in senatu eo die, quoad  
 Milo, when he-had-been in the senate that day, until  
 senatus dimissus est, venit domum; mutavit  
 the senate was-dismissed, came home; he-changed (his)  
 calceos et vestimenta; commoratus est paulisper,  
 shoes and dress; he-waited a little,

(ut fit), dum uxor comparat se,  
 (as (is usually) done), while (his) wife 'gets herself 'ready,  
 deinde profectus id temporis, quum jam Clodius  
 then he-departed (at) that time, when already Clodius  
 potuisset redire, si quidem venturus erat Romam,  
 might have-returned, if indeed he-was-to-return to Rome,  
 eo die. Clodius obviam fit ei,  
 on-that day. Clodius meets him, (he Clodius being)  
 expeditus, in equo, nullâ rhedâ, nullis  
 unencumbered, on horseback, with-no carriage, with-no  
 impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus, ut solebat,  
 baggage, with-no Greek attendants, as he-used  
 sine uxore, quod fere nunquam,  
 (to-have), without (his) wife, which (was) almost never  
 quum hic insidiator, qui apparasset  
 (the case), when this waylayer, [Milo,] who had-prepared  
 illud iter, ad faciendam cædem, veheretur  
 that journey, for-the-purpose-of committing murder, was-drawn  
 in rhedâ cum uxore, pænulatus  
 in a carriage with (his) wife, (and was) enveloped-in-a-travelling-cloak,  
 et magno impedito, et muliebri ac delicato  
 and with great baggage, and with-an-effeminate and delicate  
 comitatu ancillarum, que puerorum. Fit obviam  
 cortege of maid-servants, and of-boys. He-meets  
 Clodio ante ejus fundum, fere undecimâ horâ,  
 Clodius before his farm, about the eleventh hour,  
 aut non multo secus. Statim complures faciunt  
 or not much from-it. Immediately many make  
 impetum in hunc cum telis, de superiore loco;  
 an attack on him with missiles, from the higher place;  
 adversi occidunt rhedarium; autem  
 the opponents kill the driver (of his carriage); but  
 quum hic, rejectâ pænulâ, desiluisset  
 when he, having-thrown-off (his) cloak, had-jumped  
 de rhedâ, que defenderet se acri  
 from-the-carriage, and defended himself with-a-courageous (and  
 animo illi, qui erant cum Clodio,  
 vigorous) mind, those, who were with Clodius,



eductis gladiis, partim recurrere ad  
 having-drawn (their) swords, some-of-them ran-back to  
 rhedam, ut adorirentur Milonem a tergo,  
 the chariot, that they-might-attack Milo in the-rear,  
 partim, quòd putarent hunc jam  
 some-of-them, because they-thought (that) he 'was already  
 interfectum, incipiunt cædere ejus servos, qui erant  
 slain, begin to-kill his slaves, who were  
 post, ex quibus, qui fuerunt præsentì  
 behind, from-among whom, those-who had presence (of)  
 animo, et fideli in dominum,  
 mind (and resolution), and were faithful to (their) master, 'were  
 partim occisi sunt, partim, quum viderent  
 part-of them 'slain, a part, when they-saw (that)  
 pugnari ad rhedam, prohiberentur  
 there-was-a-fight at the carriage, (and) were-prohibited from  
 succurrere domino, audirent ex Clodio  
 succouring (their) master, (when) they-heard from Clodius  
 ipso Milonem occisum, et putarent re  
 himself, (that) Milo was-killed, and believed the thing (to be)  
 verâ, servi Milonis fecerunt id (enim dicam  
 true, the servants of-Milo did that (for I-speak  
 aperte, non causâ derivandi criminis,  
 openly, not for-the-purpose of shifting the blame (from Milo to  
 sed ut factum est),  
 his servants), but (that the affair may be stated) as it-was-done),  
 domino nec imperante, nec sciente, nec  
 (their) master neither commanding, nor knowing, nor  
 præsentē, quod quisque voluisset suos  
 being-present, which each-one (of us) might-have-wished his  
 servos facere, in tali re.  
 servant to-do, in such an affair.

30 11. Hæc, judices, gesta sunt, ita sicut  
 These-things, O judges, have-been-done, just as  
 exposui; insidiator superatus est; vis  
 I-have-stated (them); the-waylayer was-overcome; violence  
 victa vi, vel potius audacia oppressa est  
 was-defeated by-violence, or rather audacity was-put-down

virtute. Dico nihil, quid respublica  
by-valour. I-say nothing, (about) what the republic

consecuta sit, nihil, quid vos  
may-have-gained, nothing, (about) what you (may have gained),

nihil, quid omnes boni.  
nothing, (about) what all good-men (may have gained, by this

Sane id prosit nihil Miloni, qui  
event). But-indeed 'let that 'be no 'advantage to Milo, who

natus est hoc fato, ut quidem potuerit ne servare  
is born to-this fate, that indeed he-could not save

se, quin unâ, servaret  
himself, but-that together (and at the same time), he-saved

republicam que vos. Si id potuit non fieri  
the republic and you. If this could not be-done

jure, habeo nihil, quod defendam. Sin et  
with right, I-have nothing, that I-may-defend. But-if both

ratio præscripsit hoc doctis, et necessitas  
reason has-prescribed this to-the-learned, and necessity

barbaris, et mos gentibus, et etiam natura  
to-barbarians, and custom to-nations, and also nature

feris belluis, ut semper propulsarent omnem  
to-wild beasts, that 'they-might always 'repel all

vim quacunque ope possent, a corpore,  
violence, by-whatever means they-could, from (their) body

a capite, a suâ vitâ, potestis non  
from (their) head, (and) from their life, you-can not

judicare hoc improbum facinus, quin  
adjudge this (to be) a wicked deed, but-that

simul judicetis, omnibus, qui inciderint  
at-the-same-time you-decide, for-all, who may-have-fallen

in latrones, pereundum esse, aut illorum  
among robbers, (that) they-must-perish, either 'by their

tellis, aut vestris sententiis. Quòd si  
[the robber's] 'weapons, or by-your sentences. Because if

putasset ita, certe fuit optabilius  
he-had-thought so, 'it certainly 'would-have-been more-desirable

Miloni, dare jugulum P. Clodio,  
for Milo, to-offer (his) throat to-P. Clodio, (which)

petitum ab illo non semel, neque tum  
had-been-sought by him not once, nor then

primùm, quàm jugulari a vobis, quia  
for-the-first-time, than to-be-strangled by you, because 'he-had

non tradidisset se illi jugulandum. Sin nemo  
not 'delivered himself to-him to-be-killed. But-if no-one

vestrum sentis ita, jam illud venit in judicium,  
of-you thinks so, now this comes in judgment, (and is a

non, ne occisus sit,  
subject of inquiry for the judges), not, whether he-may-have-been-killed,

quod fatemur; sed jure, an injuriâ;  
which we-confess; but (whether it was done) justly, or unjustly;

quod, in multis causis sæpe quæsitum est.  
which, in many causes, 'has often 'been-inquired-into.

Constat insidias factas esse, et id  
It-is-evident (that) snares and ambuscades were laid, and this

est, quod senatus judicavit, factum contra  
is, what the senate has-determined, was-done against

republicam; ab utro factæ sint, est  
the republic; by which-of-the-two they-might-have-been-laid, is

incertum. De hoc igitur latum est  
uncertain. Concerning this therefore it-has-been-moved (and or-

ut quæreretur. Et ita senatus  
dered) that it-should-be-inquired-into. And so the senate

notavit rem, non hominem, et Pompeius  
disapproved the-thing, not the man, and Pompey

tulit quæstionem de jure, non  
has-brought-forward the inquiry concerning the lawfulness, not

de facto.  
concerning the fact (itself).

37 12. Igitur numquid aliud, venit in  
Therefore is-there-any other-thing, (that) comes in

judicium, nisi uter fecerit insidias  
judgment, unless which-one laid snares-and-ambuscades

utri? Profectò nihil; si hic  
for-the-other? Indeed nothing-else; if this (Milo laid snares)

illi, ut ne sit impune; si  
for-him (Clodius), 'let-it not 'be with impunity; if

ille huic, tum nos solvamur  
 he (Clodius laid snares) for-this (Milo), then we are-acquitted  
 scelere.  
 of-guilt.

Igitur quonam pacto potest probari,  
 Therefore in-what manner can (it) be-proved, (that)

Clodium fecisse insidias Miloni? Est quidem  
 Clodius had-laid snares for-Milo? It-is indeed

satis, in illâ tam audaci, tam nefariâ belluâ,  
 sufficient, in that so audacious, so wicked a monster,

docere, magnam causam ei  
 to-show, (that there was) great reason for-him (to desire Milo's

magnam spem propositam in morte  
 death, and) great hopes were offered (him) by the death

Milonis, magnas utilitates fuisse.  
 of-Milo, that great advantages would-have (resulted to him

Itaque illud Cassianum, "cui  
 thereby). Therefore that (maxim of) Cassius, "to-whom

fuerit bono," valeat in his  
 would-it-be advantageous," may-have-authority among these

personis; etsi boni impelluntur nullo  
 persons; although the good are-impelled by-no

emolumento in fraudem, improbi  
 advantage in (committing) a crime, bad-men (are induced

sæpe parvo. Atqui, Milone  
 to do so) often by-a-small (advantage). But-then, Milo

interfecto, assequebatur hoc, non modò, ut esset  
 being-slain, he-attained this, not only, that he-might-be

prætor, non eo consule, quo posset facere  
 prætor, not with-such a consul, under-whom he-could commit

nihil sceleris, sed etiam, ut esset prætor,  
 nothing of-crime, [no crime,] but also, that he-would-be prætor,

iis consulibus, quibus si non juvantibus,  
 those being-consuls, who if (they were) not assisting (him),

at certe conniventibus, speraret, se posse  
 at-least certainly were conniving, he-hoped, (that) he might-be-able

eludere in illis suis cogitatis furoribus;  
 to-elude (detection) in those his contemplated frantic-deeds;



cujus conatus illi, ut ipse ratiocinabatur,  
 whose attempts they, [the consuls], as he [Clodius] reasoned

nec cuperent reprimere, si possent,  
 (with himself), 'would not 'desire to suppress, if they-could,

quum arbitrarentur se debere ei  
 when they-considered (that) they were-indebted to-him

tantum beneficium, et si vellent,  
 for-such-a-great favour, and if they-wished (to repress them),

fortasse possent vix frangere audaciam  
 perhaps 'they-could 'scarcely crush the audacity

sceleratissimi hominis, jam corroboratam  
 of-a-most-wicked man, now confirmed

vetustate. An verò, judices,  
 by-a-long-duration (of impunity). But indeed, O judges, 'are

vos soli ignoratis, vos versamini  
 you alone ignorant (of all this), 'do you 'reside (as)

hospites in hac urbe? vestrae aures  
 strangers in this city? 'do your ears

peregrinantur neque versantur in hoc  
 'wander-and-pay-no-attention, nor are-they-practised in this

pervagato sermone civitatis, quas leges  
 common-and-wide-spread report of-the-city, what laws

{si nominandæ sunt leges, ac non faces  
 (if they-are-to-be-called laws, and not firebrands (for)

urbis, pestes reipublicæ) ille impositurus fuerit  
 the city, (and) pests of-the-republic) he would-have-imposed

nobis omnibus, atque inustus? Exhibe  
 on us all, and indelibly-branded (on us all)? Produce

quæso Sexte Clodi, exhibe illud librarium  
 I-entreat-you Sextus Clodius, produce that book-case (containing)

vestrarum legum, quod aiunt, te eripuisse  
 your laws, which they-say, (that) you snatched

e domo, et ex mediis armis, que  
 from (your) house, and from the midst (of) arms, and

nocturnâ turbâ, extulisse tanquam  
 a nocturnal mob (threatening you), (and) bore (it) aloft as

Palladium, videlicet, ut posse deferre  
 a Palladium, for-the-purpose, that you-might-be-able to-carry

præclarum munus, atque instrumentum  
the splendid present, and instrument-of-writing (for)

tribunatûs ad aliquem, si nactus esses, qui  
the tribuneship, to some-one, if you-could-find (him), who

gereret tribunatum tuo arbitrio.  
would-discharge-the-duties (of) the-tribuneship to-your wish,

An ille ausus esset facere mentionem hujus  
Whether 'would he 'have-dared to-make mention of-this

legis, quam Sex. Clodius gloriatur, inventam  
law, which Sex. Clodius boasts, (that) it-was-devised

a se, Milone vivo, ne dicam  
by him, Milo being-alive, not I-may-mention (his) (being)

consule? De omnium nostrum—audeo non dicere  
consul? Concerning all of-us —I dare not say

totum. Videte, quid ea lex habitura fuerit  
all. See, what that law would-have-had

vitii cuius etiam reprehensio  
of odiousness, (when the mere mention) of-which even (for) reprehension

est periculosa. Et quidem adspexit me illis  
is dangerous. And indeed he-looked at-me with-those

oculis, quibus tum solebat, quum minabatur  
eyes, with-which 'he then 'used-to-do, when he threatened

omnia omnibus. Lumen curiæ quippe  
every-thing to all. This light of-the-senate-house indeed

momet me.

moves me.

13. Quid? tu putas, me iratum tibi,  
What? do you think, (that) I am-angry with-you,

Sexte, cujus inimicissimum tu punitus es, etiam  
O Sextus, whose greatest-enemy you have-punished, even

multò crudeliùs, quàm erat meæ  
much more-cruelly, than it-would-be (the part) of-my

humanitatis postulare? Tu ejecisti domo  
humanity to-require? You threw 'from (his) 'house

cruentum cadaver P. Clodii, tu abjecisti in  
the bloody carcass of-P. Clodius, you 'cast (it) 'out to

publicum, tu reliquisti spoliatum imaginibus,  
the public, you left-it deprived (of ancestral) images,

exsequiis, pompâ, laudatione, semustilatum  
 of-funeral-rites, of-funeral-pomp, of-funeral-panegyric, half-burnt

infelicissimis lignis  
 'with (those) 'most unfortunate (pieces of) wood [the furniture of the

dilaniandum canibus,  
 senate chamber] (and) to-be-torn (and devoured) by dogs,

nocturnis. Quare etsi fecisti nefarie,  
 that-prowl-about-at-night. Wherefore although you-have-acted wickedly,

tamen, quoniam exprompsisti tuam crudelitatem  
 however, because you-have-wreaked your cruelty

in meo inimico, possum non laudare,  
 on my enemy, (though) I-can not praise (you),

certe debeo non irasci. [Demonstravi iudices,  
 certainly I-ought not to-be-angry. [I have-demonstrated O judges,

quantum Claudii inter] fuerit, Milonem  
 how-much (as respects) Claudius it was] (his) interest, (that) Milo

occidi. Nunc convertite animos vicissim ad  
 should-be-slain. Now turn (your) minds next to

Milonem. Quid intererat Milonis, Clodium  
 Milo. What was-the-interest of-Milo, (that) Clodius

interfici? Quid erat cur Milo, non dicam  
 should-be-slain? What was-there why Milo, 'I-will not 'say

admitteret, sed optaret?  
 should commit (such a deed), but 'should (even) 'desire (it)? (But)

Clodius obstabat Miloni, in spe consulatûs.  
 Clodius was-an-obstacle to-Milo, in (his) hope of-the-consulship.

At, eo repugnante, fiebat; immo verò  
 But, he opposing, he-was-made (to gain); moreover indeed

fiebat eò magis, nec utebatur me  
 he-was-made (to gain) so-much the more, nor did-he-use me

meliore suffragatore, quàm Clodio  
 [nor was I] a better electioneerer (for him), than Clodius (was);

memoria, meritorum Milonis erga me que  
 the remembrance, of-the-services of-Milo towards me and

republicam, valebat apud vos, iudices; nostræ  
 the republic, availed (much) with you, O judges; our

lacrimæ et preces, quibus ego sentiebam, vos  
 tears and entreaties, by-which I perceived, (that) you

tum mirifice moveri valebant; sed multò plus  
'were then wonderfully 'moved were-of-avail; but much more

timor impendetium periculorum valebat. Enim  
did the fear of-impending dangers 'avail. For

quis erat civium, qui proponeret sibi  
who was-there of-the-citizens, who could-place-before himself

solutam præturam P. Clodii, sine maximo metu  
the unrestrained prætorship of-P. Clodius, without the greatest fear

novarum rerum? Autem videbatis fore  
of a revolution? But you-saw that it would-be

solutam, nisi is esset consul, qui auderet que  
unrestrained, unless he were consul, who might-dare and

posset constringere eam. Quum universus Romanus  
could restrain it. When the entire Roman

populus sentiret eum Milonem esse unum,  
people perceived (that) this Milo was the only-one,

quis dubitaret, suo suffragio  
(that could do this), who would-doubt, by his vote

liberare se metu, rempublicam periculo?  
to-free himself from-fear, (and) the republic from-danger?

At nunc, Clodio remoto, est Miloni jam  
But now, Clodius being-removed, it-is for-Milo now

enitendum, usitatis rebus, ut tueatur suam  
to-exert-himself, by-the-usual means, that he-may-preserve his

dignitatem; illa singularis gloria, et concessa huic  
dignity; that peculiar glory, and conceded to-him

uni, quæ quotidie augebatur frangendis  
alone, (and) which 'was daily 'increased of-breaking (and

furoribus Clodianis, jam cecidit  
'frustrating) the mad-schemes (of) Clodius, 'has now 'fallen

morte Clodii. Vos adepti estis  
(and ceased), by-the-death of-Clodius. You attained-to-this, (that)

ne metueritis quem civem; hic perdidit  
'you-need not 'fear any citizen; he lost

exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem  
(the occasion of) exercising (his) valour, votes

consulatûs, perennem fontem suæ gloriæ.  
(for) the-consulship, (and) the perpetual fountain of-his glory.



Itaque consulatus Milonis, qui, Clodio vivo,  
Therefore the consulship of-Milo, which, Clodius (being) alive,

poterat non labefactari, denique,  
could not be-shaken, (or defeated, but now), in fine, (he being)

mortuo, coeptus est tentari.  
dead, it-has-been-commenced (for it) to-be-attempted. [they have

commenced to prevent it.] Igitur mors Clodii non  
commenced to prevent it.] Therefore the death of-Clodius 'is not

modò nihil prodest Miloni, sed etiam obest.  
only no 'advantage to-Milo, but even is-an-injury (to him)

At odium valuit, fecit iratus, fecit  
But-then (his) hatred prevailed, he-did (it) enraged, he-did (it)

inimicus, fuit ultor injuriæ, punitor sui  
as an enemy, he-was the avenger of-injury, the avenger of-his

doloris. Quid? si non dico, hæc fuerunt  
griefs. What? if I-do not say, (that) these-things were

majora in Clodio, quàm in Milone, sed maxima in  
greater in Clodius, than in Milo, but the greatest in

illo, nulla in hoc? quid vultis  
the former, (and) not-at-all in the latter? what do-you-wish

amplius? Enim quid Milo odisset Clodium,  
more? For why (should) Milo have-hated Clodius,

segetem ac materiem suæ gloriæ, præter hoc civile  
the cause and material of-his glory, except that civil

odium, quo odimus omnes improbos? Erat,  
hatred, by-which we-hate all wicked-persons? There-was (reason)

ut ille odisset primùm  
that he (Clodius) should-hate (Milo, for) firstly he [Milo] (was)

defensorem meæ salutis, deinde vexatorem  
the defender of-my safety, next (as) the disturber (of his)

furoris, dominatorem suorum  
fury, (and) (as) the master (and represser) of-his

armorum, postremò etiam suum accusatorem. Enim  
arms, finally also (as) his accuser. For

Clodius quoad vixit fuit reus Milonis, Plotiâ  
Clodius as-long-as he-lived was the accused of-Milo, by-the-Plotian

lege.

law. [On the accusation of Milo, Clodius was liable to be tried by the

Plotian law, against violence.] Tandem quo aninio  
In-fine with-what feelings  
creditur illum tyrannum tulisse hoc?  
do-you-suppose (that) that tyrant bore this?  
quantum illius odium, et, in injusto  
how-great (do you suppose was) his hatred, and, in an unjust  
homine, etiam quàm justum  
(and wicked) man, also how reasonable, (that this)  
fuisse?  
was?

14. Reliquum est jam, ut ipsius natura,  
It-remains now, (to show) that his nature,  
que consuetudo defendat illum, autem hæc  
and habits may-defend that-one, [Clodius,] but these  
eadem coarguant hunc. Clodius  
same-things may-accuse (and censure) this-one. [Milo.] Clodius (did)  
nihil unquam per vim, Milo omnia per vim.  
nothing at-any-time by force, Milo (did) every-thing by force.  
Quid? quum ego cessi urbe, vobis, iudices,  
What? when I departed from-the-city, you, O judges,  
mœrentibus, ne timui iudicium? non  
mourning, did-I fear a trial? (was it) not (rather)  
servos, non arma, non vim? quæ  
slaves, not (rather) arms, not (rather) violence? what  
igitur fuisset justa causa restituendi mei,  
therefore might-have-been a just cause of-recalling me (from  
nisi ejiciendi  
banishment), unless (the cause) of-throwing (me into banishment)  
fuisset injusta? Credo dixerat diem mihi,  
had-been unjust? I-suppose he-had-appointed a day for-me  
irrogarat multam, intenderat  
(for trial), (he had proposed) to impose a fine, he-had-threatened  
actionem perduellionis, et mihi videlicet,  
an action of-treason, and (by) me forsooth, (your)  
iudicium timendum fuit, in causâ, aut malâ aut  
judgment was-to-be-feared, in a cause, either bad or  
meâ, non et præclarissimâ et vestrâ. Nolui  
mine, not (as) both most-illustrious and yours. I-did-not-wish

objici meos cives servatos, meis consiliis que  
to-expose my citizens saved, by-my counsels and

periculis, armis servorum, et egentium civium,  
dangers, to-the-arms of slaves, and of-needy citizens,

et facinorosorum, pro me. Enim vidi, vidi hunc  
and of-the-wicked, for me. For I-saw, I-saw this

ipsum Q. Hortensius lumen et ornamentum  
same Q. Hortensius (here) the light and ornament

reipublicæ, pæne interfici manu servorum, quum  
of-the-republic, nearly killed by-a-band of-slaves, when

adesset mihi; in quâ turbâ C. Vibienus,  
he-was-standing by-me; in which mob C. Vibienus,

senator, optimus vir, quum esset unâ cum  
a senator, (and) most-excellent man, when he-was together with

hoc, ita mulcatus est, ut amiserit vitam.  
him, 'was so 'beaten, that he-lost (his) life.

Itaque quando postea illa sica illius, quam  
Therefore when after-that 'did that 'dagger of-his, which

acceperat a Catilinâ conquievit? Hæc  
he-had-received from Catiline 'rest? This (dagger)

intentata est nobis; ego non passus sum huic  
was-aimed at-us; [me] I 'can not 'suffer this

objici vos pro me; hæc insidiata est  
to-be-thrust at-you for me; this (dagger) lay-in-wait

Pompeio, hæc cruentavit istam Appiam,  
for-Pompey, this (dagger) stained-with-blood this Appian way,

monumentum sui nominis, nece Papirii; hæc,  
the monument of-his name, by-the-murder of-Papirius; this,

hæc eadem, longo intervallo, rursus  
this same (dagger), after-a long interval, 'was again

conversa est in me; nuper quidem, ut scitis,  
'turned against me; lately indeed, as you-know,

pæne confecit me ad regiam.  
it nearly killed me at the royal (house). [Palace of Numa.]

Quid simile Milonis? omnis cujus  
What like (this in the conduct) of Milo? all whose

vis fuit semper hæc, P. Clodius ne  
violence was always this, (that) P. Clodius 'might not

teneret civitatem oppressam vi,  
 'hold the city oppressed by-violence, [keep the city in con-  
 tinual fear of his violence,] quum posset non detrahi in  
 since he could not be-brought to  
 judicium. Quem si voluisset interficere, quantæ  
 justice. Whom if he-had-wished to kill, how-many  
 occasiones, quoties, quàm præclaræ fuerunt?  
 opportunities, (how) often, how splendid were-they?  
 Potuit ne, quum defenderet domum, ac suos  
 Could-he not, when he-defended (his) house, and his  
 penates deos, illo oppugnanter, jure ulcisci  
 household gods, he (Clodius) attacking, have by-right avenged  
 se? potuit ne, egregio civi, et  
 himself? could-he not (have done so), (that) excellent citizen, and  
 fortissimo viro P. Sestio suo collegâ vulnerato?  
 most-brave man P. Sestius his colleague being-wounded?  
 potuit ne Q. Fabricio, optimo viro,  
 could-he not (have done so) Q. Fabricio, a-most-excellent man,  
 quum ferret legem, de meo reditu,  
 when carrying-through a law, respecting my return (from banish-  
 ment), being driven away (by a mob), (and) a most-cruel slaughter  
 factâ in foro? potuit ne domo L.  
 being-made in-the-forum? could-he not (have done so) the house of-L.  
 Cælii, justissimi que fortissimi prætoris, oppugnatâ?  
 Cælius, a most-just and most-brave prætor, being-attacked?  
 potuit ne, illo die, quum lex de  
 could-he not (have done so), on-that day, when the law concerning  
 me lata est? quum concursus totius  
 me was-passed? when the concourse (of the people) of-all  
 Italiæ, quem mea salus concitarat,  
 Italy, whom my safety had-excited (and brought together),  
 libens agnovisset gloriam illius facti  
 'would willingly 'have-acknowledged the glory of-that deed (and)  
 ut etiamsi, Milo fecisset id, cuncta civitas  
 that although, Milo may-have-done it, the whole state  
 vindicaret eam laudem pro sua.  
 would-have-claimed that praise for its-own.



15. At quod tempus erat!  
But what (a favourable) time it-was! (For)

Clarissimus et fortissimus P. Lentulus consul,  
the-most-illustrious and most-brave P. Lentulus (was) consul,

inimicus Claudio, ultor illius sceleris, propugnator  
an enemy to-Claudius, the avenger of-his wickedness, the bulwark

senatûs, defensor vestræ voluntatis, patronus  
of-the-senate, the defender of-your will, the patron

publici consensûs,  
(and promoter) 'of (that) 'public unanimity (for my return),

restitutor meæ salutis; septem prætores, octo  
the restorer of-my safety; seven prætors, eight

tribuni plebis adversarii illius, defensores  
tribunes of-the-people (being) adversaries of-him, (and) defenders

mei; Cn. Pompeius auctor, et dux mei  
of-me; Cn. Pompey (being) the author, and leader of-my

reditûs illius hostis, cujus gravissimam et  
return (and) his enemy, whose most-dignified and

ornatissimam sententiam de meâ salute, omnis  
most-beautiful opinion concerning my safety, the entire

senatus secutus est, qui cohortatus est  
senate adopted, who [Pompey] exhorted

Romanum populum, qui, quum fecit decretum  
the Roman people, who, when he passed the decree

de me Capuæ, ipse dedit signum cunctæ  
concerning me at-Capua, he-himself gave the signal to-entire

Italiæ, cupienti, et imploranti ejus fidem,  
Italy, desiring, and imploring his good-faith (in my favour),

ut concurrent ad restituendam  
that they-should-assemble-together for-the-purpose-of restoring

me Romam; denique tum omnia odia civium  
me to-Rome; in-fine then all the hatred of-the-citizens

ardebant in illum, desiderio mei;  
was-strongly-excited against him, 'with-regret-at my 'absence;

quem qui interemisset tum; non  
whom [Clodius] 'if any-one 'had-killed then; 'it-would not

cogitaretur de ejus impunitate, sed de  
have-been-thought concerning his impunity, but about

præmiis. Tamen Milo continuit  
the rewards (to be conferred on him). However Milo restrained

se, et bis vocavit P. Clodium in judicium  
himself, and twice summoned P. Clodius to a trial-in-court,

nunquam ad vim. Quid?  
(but) never (challenged him) to deeds-of-violence. What?

Milone privato, et reo ad populum,  
Milo being a private-person, and a defendant before the people,

P. Clodio accusante, quum impetus factus est in  
P. Clodius being-the-accuser, when an attack was made on

Cn. Pompeium dicentem pro Milone, quæ occasio  
Cn. Pompeius pleading for Milo, what an opportunity

non modò tum, sed etiam causa  
not only (was there) then, but even a reason (for)

opprimendi? Nuper vero quum M.  
surprising (and killing him)? Lately indeed when M.

Antonius attulisset summam spem salutis omnibus  
Antonius had-brought the greatest hope of-safety to-all

bonis, que nobilissimus adolescens fortissime  
good-men, and the-most-noble young-man 'had most-bravely

suscepisset gravissimam partem reipublicæ, atque  
espoused the-most-responsible cause of-the-republic, and

teneret illam belluam, declinantem  
when 'he (almost) 'held that wild-beast, avoiding

laqueos judicii, jam irretitam; qui  
the snares of-the-tribunals, already entangled-in-his-nets; what

locus, quod tempus fuit illud, immortales  
a place, what a time (and opportunity) was that, O immortal

dii? Quum ille fugiens abdidisset se in tenebras  
gods? When he flying had-hid himself in the darkness

scalarum, fuit magnum Miloni  
of-the-stairs, it (might) have-been a-great-thing for-Milo

conficere illam pestem, nullâ invidiâ suâ, vero  
to-have-killed that pest, with-no odium (to himself), but

maximâ gloriâ Antonii. Quid? comitiis  
with great glory (to) Antonius. What? in-the-comitia

in Campo, quoties fuit  
(when voting) in the Campus Martius, how-often was

potestas, quum  
 the power, [how often had Milo the opportunity of killing Clodius] when  
 ille irrupisset in septa,  
 he [Clodius] had-broken into the-enclosures-for-voting, (and)  
 curavisset, gladios destringendos lapides  
 had-taken-care, (that) swords should-be-drawn (and) stones  
 jaciendos, dein subitò perteritus vultu  
 should-be-thrown, then suddenly frightened by-the-appearance  
 Milonis fugeret ad Tiberim, vos et omnes boni  
 of-Milo he-fled to the Tiber, you and all good-men  
 faceretis vota, ut liberet Miloni uti  
 made vows, [prayed,] that it-would-please Milo to-make  
 suâ virtute.  
 use-of-his courage (and kill Clodius).

16. Igitur quem noluit cum gratiâ  
 Therefore whom he-would-not (kill) with the-approbation  
 omnium, voluit hunc cum querelâ aliquorum?  
 of-all, would-he (kill) him with the disapprobation of-some?  
 quem ausus est non jure, quem  
 whom he-dared not (kill) lawfully, whom (he dared not kill) 'in  
 loco, quem tempore,  
 (a proper) 'place, whom (he dared not kill) at-an-opportune-time,  
 quem impune, non dubitavit  
 whom (he dared not kill) with-impunity, 'would-he not 'have-doubted  
 occidere hunc injuriâ, iniquo loco, alieno  
 to-kill him unlawfully, in-an-improper place, at-an  
 tempore, periculo capitis præsertim, judices,  
 inopportune-time, with-danger of-his-life especially, O judges,  
 quum contentio amplissimi honoris, et  
 when the contest (for) the greatest honours (of the state) and  
 dies comitiorum subesset; quo tempore  
 the day of-the-comitia [election] was-at-hand; at-which time  
 quidem (enim scio quàm timida ambitio sit, que  
 indeed (for I-know how timid ambition is, and  
 quanta et quàm sollicita sit cupiditas consulatûs),  
 how-great and how anxious is the desire of-the-consulship),  
 timemus omnia non modò quæ possunt palam  
 we-fear every-thing not only what may 'be openly

reprehendi, sed etiam quæ obscure cogitari,  
'reprehended, but also what (may) 'be obscurely 'thought,

perhorescimus levem rumorem fictam fabulam,  
we shudder-at idle rumours (and) false stories

intuemur ora atque oculos omnium. Enim  
we-look-at the countenances and eyes of-all. For

nihil est tam molle, tam tenerum, aut tam fragile,  
nothing is so soft, so tender, or so fragile,

aut flexibile, quàm voluntas que sensus civium  
or flexible, as the good-will and feeling of-the-citizens

erga nos, qui non modò irascuntur improbitati  
towards us, who not only are-provoked at-the-wickedness

candidatorum, sed etiam sæpe fastidiunt in factis  
of-the-candidates, but also often become-disgusted with deeds

recte.

Milo igitur, proponens sibi  
(done) correctly (by him). 'Would Milo then, placing-before him

hunc speratum atque exoptatum diem Campi,  
this hoped-for and desired day of-the Campus Martius,

confitens et ferens præ se  
[day of the election,] confessing and bearing before himself

cruentis manibus, scelus et facinus, veniebat ad  
with-bloody hands, (his) crime and wickedness, 'come to

illa augusta auspicia centuriarum? Quàm  
those august auspices of-the-centuria? How

non credibile hoc in hôc! quàm non dubitandum  
incredible is this in this-one! how indubitable

idem in Clodio, qui, Milone interfecto, putaret  
(is) the same in Clodius, who, Milo being-slain, he-thought

se regnaturum! Quid?

(that) he would-resign! What (if to be said of that)?

quod, iudices, est caput audaciæ, quis  
which, O judges, is the head (and source) of-audacity, who

ignorat maximam illecebram peccandi esse  
is-ignorant (that) the greatest enticement of-doing-wrong is

spem impunitatis? In utro igitur fuit hæc?  
the hope of-impunity? In which-of-the-two therefore was this?

in Milone, qui est etiam nunc reus facti, aut  
in Milo, who is even now a defendant (for) a deed, either



præclari, aut certe necessarii, an in Clodio, qui  
illustrious, or certainly necessary, or in Clodius, who

ita contempserat judicia que pœnam, ut  
'has so 'despised courts-of-justice and punishment, that

nihil delectaret eum, quod esset aut fas per  
nothing delighted him, which might-be either allowed by

naturam, aut liceret per leges? Sed quid ego  
nature, or permitted by the-laws? But why 'do I

argumentor? quid disputo plura?  
'bring-forward-arguments? why dispute (about so) many-things?

Appello te Q. Petili, optimum et fortissimum  
I-appeal-to you, O Q. Petilius, a most excellent and most-brave

civem; te, M. Cato, testor; quos  
citizen; 'I-call-on you, O. M. Cato, 'as witness; whom (both)

quædam divina sors dedit mihi judices. Vos  
some divine chance has-given to-me (for) judges. You

audistis ex M. Favonio, Clodium dixisse  
have-heard from M. Favonius, (that) Clodius said

sibi, et audistis, Clodio vivo,  
to-himself, and you-heard (it), Clodius being (yet) alive, (that)

Milonem perituum triduo. Post tertium diem  
Milo would-die in-three-days. On the third day

res gesta est, quam dixerat. Quum ille non  
the affair took-place, which he-had-said. When he 'did not

dubitarit aperire, quid cogitaret, potestis vos  
'hesitate to-make-known, what he-thought, can you

dubitare, quid fecerit?  
doubt, what he-did?

17. Quemadmodum igitur dies non fefellit  
How therefore 'did the-day not 'deceive

eum? equidem  
him? [How was he so certain of the day?] 'I-have indeed

modò dixi erat nihil negotii  
just 'explained (that) there-was nothing of-the-affair [no difficulty]

nosse stata sacrificia dictatoris Lanuvii. Vidit  
to-know the stated sacrifices of-the-dictator of-Lanuvium. He-saw

esse necesse Miloni proficisci Lanuvium,  
'that) it-was necessary for Milo to-go to-Lanuvium,

illo ipso die, quo profectus est. Itaque  
on-that same day, on-which he-went. Therefore

antevertit. At quo die? Quo,  
he-anticipated (Milo in his journey). But on-what day? On-that-day,

ut dixi ante, fuit insanissima  
as I-have-said before, (on which) there was a most-furious

concio concitata ab ipsius mercenario  
meeting-of-the-people stirred-up by his mercenary

tribuno plebis; quem diem, quam concionem,  
tribune of-the-people; which day, which meeting,

quos clamores, ille nunquam reliquisset, nisi  
which clamours, he-would never have-left, unless

approperaret ad cogitatum facinus. Ergo  
he-were-hastening to (some) premeditated crime. Therefore

quidem ne causa itineris illi, etiam  
(there was) indeed no cause of-a-journey for-him, (but) indeed

causa manendi; nulla facultas Miloni  
a reason for-remaining (at home); (there was) no possibility for-Milo

manendi, exeundi fuit non solùm  
remaining (in the city, but for) departing there-was not only

causa, sed etiam necessitas. Quid? si, ut  
a reason, but also a necessity. What (moreover)? if, as

ille scivit, Milonem fore eo die in  
he knew, (that) Milo would-be on-that day on (his)

viâ, sic Milo potuit ne quidem suspicari,  
journey, so Milo could not indeed suspect, (that)

Clodium sic. Primum quæro, qui  
Clodius (would be) so. In-the-first-place I-ask, who

potuerit scire? quod idem vos potestis non  
could have-known (it)? which same-thing you could not

quærere in Clodio. Ut enim rogasset  
have-asked respecting Clodius. For though he-might-have-asked

neminem alium, nisi suum familiarissimum T.  
no-one else, but his most-intimate-friend T.

Patinum, potuit scire illo ipso die,  
Patinus, he-might have-known, (that) on-that same day,

esse necesse flaminem prodi a Milone, Lanuvii,  
it-was necessary for-a-priest to-be-appointed by Milo, at Lanuvium,

dictatore. Sed erant permulti alii. ex  
 (as) dictator (thereof). But there-were a-great-many others, from  
 quibus posset facillime scire id; scilicet omnes  
 whom he-might very-easily learn that; namely al.  
 Lanuvini. Unde Milo quæsivit de reditu  
 the Lanuvians. Where 'did Milo 'inquire about the return  
 Clodii? Quæsierit sane. Videte, quid  
 of-Clodius? He-may-have-inquired without doubt. See, what  
 largiar vobis. Etiam corruperit servum, ut  
 I-concede to-you. Also (that) he may-have-bribed a slave, as  
 Q. Arrius, meus amicus dixit. Legite testimonia  
 Q. Arrius, my friend said. Read the evidence  
 vestrorum testium. C. Cassinius Schola,  
 of-your witnesses. C. Cassinius Schola, (of)  
 Interamnanus, familiarissimus, et idem comes  
 Interamna, (his) most-intimate-friend, and the same a companion  
 Clodii, cujus testimonio Clodius  
 (and attendant) of-Clodius, whose testimony Clodius (had)  
 jampridem, dixit, P. Clodius fuerat  
 some-time-since (made use of), said, (that) P. Clodius was  
 eadem horâ Interamnæ et Romæ,  
 at-the-same hour at-Interamna and at-Rome, (and that)  
 Clodium mansurum fuisse illo die in Albano,  
 Clodius was-to-have remained on-that day in Alba,  
 sed subito nunciatum esse ei, Cyrum  
 but (that) suddenly it-was-announced to-him, (that) Cyrus  
 architectum esse mortuum; itaque repente  
 the architect was dead; therefore (that he) at-once  
 constituisse proficisci Romam. C. Clodius, item  
 resolved to-proceed to-Rome. C. Clodius, also  
 comes P. Clodii, dixit hoc.  
 an accompanying-companion of-P. Clodius, said this (same).

18. Videte, iudices, quantæ res confectæ sint  
 See, O judges, how-many things are-determined  
 his testimoniis. Primùm, Milo  
 (and made manifest) by-these depositions. First, Milo  
 certe liberatur, esse,  
 is certainly freed (from guilt), (for it is shown) to-be, (that) he did

non profectus                      eo concilio, ut insidiaretur  
not            go (from Rome) with-that intention, that he-might-waylay

Clodio in viâ; quippe; si non omnino  
Clodius on the road; certainly-indeed; since 'it-could not at-all

erat                    ille    futurus        obvius    ei.    Deinde  
'be (supposed, that) he    was-about (to)    meet    him.    Next

(enim            non    video,    cur            non    quoque    agam  
(for        'I-do not    'see,    why    'I-may not            also    'mention

meum negotium), scitis, judices, fuisse,  
my-own affair), you-know, O judges, (that) there-were (those),

qui dicerent, in suadenda hac rogatione  
who said, in advocating-and-urging this petition (and ac-

	cædem	factam esse	manu
tion against Milo, that)	the murder	was-committed	by-the-hand

Milonis, vero consilio alicujus majoris.  
of-Milo, but-indeed by-the-counsel of-some greater-personage.

Abjecti et perditī homines describebant  
'Did (these) abandoned and profligate men 'describe

me	videlicet	latronem	ac	sicarium.	Hi
me	forsooth	(as) a robber	and	an assassin.	Those-men

jacent, suis testibus, qui negant  
lie prostrate, (and convicted) by-their-own witnesses, who deny (that)

Claudium rediturum fuisse Romam eo die, nisi  
Claudius would-have returned to-Rome on-that day, unless

audisset de Cyro.      Respiravi; liberatus sum;  
he-had-heard-of Cyrus.      I-breathed-again;      I-was-freed      (from

non vereor, ne videar cogitasse  
anxiety); 'I-do not 'fear, lest-that I-may-seem to-have-thought

quod potuerim ne quidem suspicari. Nunc  
that-which I-could not indeed have-suspected. Now

persequar                    cetera.                    Nam illud  
I-will-proceed    (with)    the rest.                    For    this (expression of theirs)

occurrit. Igitur Clodius ne quidem cogitavit  
occurs. Therefore Clodius 'did not indeed 'think

de insidiis, quoniam fuit mansurus in Albano.  
about snares, because he-was to-remain in Alba

Si quidem non exiturus fuisset e  
(Granted) if indeed 'he-was not 'to-have-departed from (his)



villâ ad cædem. Enim video,  
 villa (in Alba) to (commit) a murder. For I-perceive, (that)  
 illum, qui dicatur nuntiasse de morte  
 he, who is-said to-have-brought-news concerning the death  
 Cyri, non nuntiasse id, sed Milonem  
 of Cyrus, 'did not 'announce it, but (that) Milo  
 appropinquare. Nam quid nuntiaret de  
 was-approaching. For what might-he-announce concerning  
 Cyro, quem Clodius proficiscens Româ, reliquerat  
 Cyrus, whom Clodius departing from-Rome, had-left  
 morientem? Fui unâ; obsignavi  
 dying? I-was together (with them); I-signed  
 testamentum simul cum Clodio; tamen  
 the will (as witness) together with Clodius; but 'he-had  
 palam fecerat testamentum, et scripserat et  
 openly 'made (his) will, and left both  
 illum et me heredem. Quem tertiâ horâ,  
 him and me (his) heirs. Whom at-the-third hour,  
 pridie, reliquisset efflantem animam,  
 the day-before, he-had-left breathing-out (his) soul, [at the  
 denique nuntiabatur ei  
 point of death,] 'would-it in-fine 'have-been-announced to-him  
 postridie eum mortuum decimâ horâ?  
 on-the-next-day (that) he died at the tenth hour?  
 19. Age, sit factum ita; quæ causâ  
 Well then, let-it-be done so; [be it so;] what reason  
 cur properaret Romam? cur conjiceret  
 (was there) why he-should-hasten to-Rome? why should-he-throw  
 se in noctem? quid  
 himself into the night? [why should he depart at nightfall?] what  
 afferebat causam festinationis?  
 brought (any) reason of-hastening? [what occasion of hurrying  
 quod erat heres? Primùm erat  
 was there?] what-because he-was heir? First there-was  
 nihil, cur esset opus properato; deinde, si  
 nothing, why there-should-be need (of) hastening; next, if  
 esset quid, quid tandem erat quod posset  
 there-was any, what indeed was-there that could

consequi, eâ nocte, autem amitteret,  
be-obtained, that night, which 'he-might (possibly) 'lose.

si venisset Romam mane postridie?  
if he-had-come to-Rome early-in-the-morning on-the-next-day?

Atque ut illi nocturnus adventus ad urbem  
And as for-him (Clodius) a nocturnal arrival in the city

fuit potius vitandus, quàm expetendus, sic fui  
was rather to-be-avoided, than to-be-sought-for, so it-wa

Miloni quum esset insidiator si sciebat  
for-Milo as he-was a waylayer (as you say) if he-knew

illum accessurum ad urbem noctu,  
(that) he (Clodius) would enter the city by-night,

subsidendum, atque expectandum fuit.  
that-he-should-stop, and wait (for him).

Occidisset noctu in insidioso loco, et  
He-would-have-killed [Clodius] by night in a suspicious place, and

pleno latronum; nemo non credidisset ei  
full of-robbers; no-one 'would not 'have-believed him

neganti, quem omnes volunt esse salvum, etiam  
denying (it), whom all wish to-be safe, even

confitentem. Primùm ille locus ipse, occultator  
confessing (it). First that place itself, the hiding-place

et receptor latronum, sustinuisset crimen;  
and receptacle of-robbers, would-have-borne the blame;

tum neque muta solitudo indicasset  
for-then neither the mute solitude would-have-announced

Milonem, neque cæca nox ostendisset; deinde  
Milo, nor the dark night have-shown-him; next

ibi multi violati ab illo,  
in-that-place many (who) had-been-violently-used by him, (many who)

spoliati, expulsi  
had-been-despoiled (by him), (many who) had-been-plundered (of their)

bonis; multi etiam timentes hæc caderent  
goods (by him); many even fearing this would-fall

in suspicionem; denique tota Etruria citaretur  
under suspicion; in-fine all Etruria would-have-been-cited

rea. Atque certe illo die, Clodius rediens  
as defendants. And certainly on-that day, Clodius returning

Aricâ devertit ad se, in Albanum. Quôd ut  
from Arica turned-aside to-his-house, in Alba. Though as

Milo sciret, illum fuisse Aricæ, tamen  
Milo might-know, (that) he had-been at Arica, however

debuit suspicari eum, etiamsi vellet  
he-ought to-have-suspected, (that) he, although he-might-wish

reverti Romam illo die, deversurum ad suam  
to-return to Rome on-that day, would-turn-aside to his

villam, quæ tangeret viam. Cur neque  
villa, which touched (on) the road. Why 'did-he neither

occurrit ante, ille ne resideret in  
'meet (him) before, (that) he 'might not 'be-seated in (his)

villâ, nec subsedit, in eo loco, quo ille  
villa, nor lay-in-wait, in that place, where he

venturus esset noctu?  
was-to-come by-night?

Video, iudices, adhuc omnia constare;

I-see, O judges, (that) thus-far all-things are-consistent; (that)

fuisse etiam utile Miloni Clodium vivere,  
it-was even advantageous for-Milo (that) Clodius should-live,

illi interitum Milonis  
(but that) for-him (Clodius) the death of-Milo (was)

optatissimum ad ea, quæ concupierat;  
the-most-desirable (in respect) to those-things, which he-had-coveted;

odium illius acerbissimus in hunc,  
the-hatred of-that-one (was) most-bitter against this-one, [Milo],

nullum hujus in illum,  
(but there was) no-hatred of-this-one against that-one [Clodius], (that)

perpetuam consuetudinem illius  
the constant habits (and occupation) of-that-one (was)

in vi inferenda, hujus tantum in repellenda;  
in deeds of-violence, of-this-one only in repelling (them);

mortem ab illo Miloni, et palam  
(that) death was-denounced by that-one to-Milo, and openly

prædictam, nihil unquam auditum  
predicted, (that) nothing (of the kind) 'was ever 'heard

ex Milone; diem profectionis hujus  
(coming) from Milo; (that) the day of-departure of-this-one

notum illi, reditûs illius  
 was-known to-that-one, (but that the day) of-return of-that-one  
 ignotum fuisse huic; iter hujus  
 was-unknown to-this-one; (that) the journey of-this-one (was)  
 necessarium, illius etiam potius alienum;  
 necessary, (but) of-that-one even rather inconvenient; (that)  
 hunc tulisse præ se, se exiturum  
 this-one bore before himself, [openly declared,] that he would-leave  
 Româ illo die, illum dissimulasse, se  
 Rome on-that day, (but) that-one had-dissembled, (that) he  
 rediturum, illo die; hunc mutasse  
 would-return (to-Rome), on-that day; (that) this-one 'had-changed (his)  
 consilium nullius rei,  
 counsel (in) no affair, [that Milo had in no wise altered the  
 illum finxisse causam  
 plan of his journey] (but) that-one had-feigned a reason (for)  
 mutandi consilii; huic, si insidiaretur,  
 changing (his) plan; (that) to-this-one, if he-were-waylaying,  
 noctem prope urbem expectandum, illi,  
 night near the city was-to-be-awaited-for, (but) to-that-one,  
 etiamsi non timeret hunc, tamen nocturnum  
 although 'he might not 'fear this-one, yet a nocturnal  
 accessum ad urbem fuisse metuendum.  
 approach to the city was to-be-feared.

20. Nunc videamus id, quod est  
 Let-us now see that, which is

caput, utri, fuerit tandem ille  
 the-principal-thing, for-which-of-the-two, was really-in-fine that  
 locus ipse ubi congressi sunt, aptior ad insidias.  
 place itself where they-met, more-proper for ambushades.  
 Vero, iudices, id etiam dubitandum, et diutius  
 But, O judges, 'is that even 'to-be-doubted, and (any) longer  
 cogitandum est? Ante fundum Clodii, in quo  
 to-be-considered? Before the-farm of Clodius, in which  
 fundo propter illas insanas substructiones,  
 farm on-account-of those foolish foundations (and prepara-  
 facile mille valentium  
 tion of the ground for building), at-least a thousand strong



hominum versabatur; edito atque excelso loco  
men were-employed; on-the-raised and high ground

adversarii, Milo putarat se fore  
'of (his) 'adversary, 'did Milo 'think (that) he would-be

superiorem, et ob eam rem,  
superior, (or have a local advantage) and for that reason, 'had

potissimum elegerat eum locum ad pugnam? an  
especially 'selected that place for a fight? or (that)

potius expectatus est in eo loco ab eo, qui  
'he-was rather 'waited-for in that place by him, who

cogitarat facere impetum, spe  
had-thought to-make an attack, in-the-hope (and confidence)

ipsius loci. Res, iudices, loquitur ipsa,  
of-that-same place. The-thing, O judges, speaks (for) itself,

quæ semper valet plurimum. Si non audiretis  
which always avails much. If 'you-had not 'heard-of

hæc gesta, sed videretis  
these-things (as actually) performed, but had-seen (them)

picta, tamen appareret,  
delineated-in-a-picture, yet-however it-would-appear,

uter esset insidiator, uter  
which-of-the-two was the waylayer, which-of-the-two

cogitaret nihil mali, quum alter veheretur  
might-be-thinking of nothing evil, when the one was-riding

in rhedâ, pænulatus, uxor sederet  
in a carriage, having-on-a-cloak, (while his) wife sat

unâ. Quid horum non  
together (with him). Which of-these-things (was) not

impeditissimum? vestitus, an vehiculum  
the most-embarrassing? (his) dress, or (his) carriage

an comes? quid minus promptum ad  
or (his) companion? what (is) less adapted for

pugnam, quam irretitus pænulâ, impeditus  
fight, than being-entangled with-a-cloak, hampered

rhedâ, pæne constrictus esset uxore?  
with-a-carriage, (and) nearly bound by (his) wife

Videte nunc illum, primùm  
(clinging to him)? Behold now that-man, [Clodius,] at-first

egredientem e villâ subitò; cur? vesperi;  
 coming from (his) villa suddenly; why? it-was-evening,  
 quid est necesse? tarde; qui convenit,  
 why is it necessary? slowly; (with) what propriety  
 præsertim id tempus? Devertit in Pompeii  
 especially at-that time? He-turns-aside to Pompey's  
 villam, ut videret Pompeium? sciebat  
 villa, that he-might-see Pompey? he-knew (that)  
 esse in Alsiensi; ut perspiceret villam? fuerat  
 he-was in Alsiensis; that he-might-view the villa? he-had-been  
 in eâ millies; quid ergo erat? mora et  
 in it a thousand-times; what therefore was-it? delay and  
 tergiversatio; dum hic veniret, noluit  
 evasion; till he (Milo) came, he-did-not-wish  
 relinquere locum.  
 to-leave the place.

21. Age nunc, compare iter expediti  
 Well now, compare the journey 'of (this) 'unencumbered  
 latronis cum impedimentis Milonis. Ille semper  
 robber with the hinderances of-Milo. He always  
 antea cum uxore; tum sine  
 before-this-time (travelled) with (his) wife; then (he was) without  
 ea; nunquam nisi in rhedâ; tum in  
 her; (and) never unless in a carriage; (but) then on  
 equo. Græculi comites  
 horseback. (His) trifling-Greek attendants, (who always accompanied  
 quocunque ibat, etiam quum properabat  
 him), wherever he-went, even when he-was-hastening  
 in Etrusca castra; tum in comitatu  
 in the Etruscan camp; (but) then in (his) retinue, (there were)  
 nihil nugarum. Milo, qui nunquam, tum  
 no triflers. Milo, who never (did so) then  
 casu ducebat uxoris symphonicos pueros,  
 by-chance had-with-him (his) wife's music boys,  
 et greges ancillarum. Ille, qui duceret semper  
 and crowds of-maid-servants. He, [Clodius] who had always  
 cum se scorta, semper exoletos,  
 with him prostitutes, always (with him) infamous-men, (and)

semper lupas, tum neminem, nisi ut  
always (with him) lewd-women, then none, unless as

diceret, esse virum lectum a viro.  
you-might-say, (that) there was man chosen by man. [That

each man had selected his companion for a desperate enterprise.] Cur  
igitur, victus est? Quia viator non semper  
therefore, was-he-defeated? Because the traveller 'is not always

occiditur a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro  
'killed by the robber, (but) sometimes even the robber

a viatore; quia, quamquam Clodius  
(as killed) by the traveller; because, although Clodius

paratus in imparatos, tamen  
prepared (had attacked those) unprepared, yet (it was)

mulier inciderat in viros. Nec vero erat Milo  
a woman (who) encountered men. Nor indeed was Milo

unquam sic non paratus contra illum, ut  
ever so unprepared against him (Clodius) that

non esset fere satis paratus.  
'he-might not 'be (said to be) nearly sufficiently prepared.

Ille semper cogitabat, et quantum  
(For) he always thought, both how-much

interesset P. Clodii, se perire, et  
it-was-the-interest of-P. Clodius, (that) he (Milo) should-die, and

quanto odio esset illi,  
in-how-great hatred he-was to-him, [and how much Clodius hated him,]

et quantum ille auderet. Quamobrem,  
and how-much he dared (to do). Wherefore,

nunquam projiciebat suam vitam, quam sciebat  
'he never 'exposed his life, which he-knew

propositam maximis præmiis, et pæne addictam, in  
was-exposed to-the-highest price, and nearly sold, in

periculum, sine præsidio, et sine custodiâ.  
danger, without a protection, and without a guard

Adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum,  
Add (to this) chance, add the uncertain result of-battles,

que communem Martem, qui sæpe evertit  
'a the common-fortune-of-war, which often overthrows (him)

jam spoliantem, et exultantem, et  
 already despoiling, and exulting (over the enemy), and  
 perculit ab abjecto; adde inscitiam  
 drives (him) from (his) prostrate (foe); add the insufficiency

ducis oscitantis  
 of-a-commander (who has been made) listless (by having just)

pransi, poti, qui, quum reliquisset  
 dined, (and indulged in) drink, who, when he-had-left (his)

hostem interclusum a tergo, cogitavit nihil de  
 enemy cut-off in the rear, thought nothing about

ejus comitibus extremis, in  
 his attendants on-the-extreme (and surrounding parts), among

quos, incensos irâ, que desperantes vitam  
 whom, excited by-anger, and despairing (of) the life of (their)

domini, quum incidisset, hæsit in  
 master, when he-had-fallen, he-stuck-fast in, (and could not

iis pœnis, quas fideles servi  
 escape from) those punishments, which faithful slaves

expetiverunt ab eo, pro vitâ domini. Cur  
 sought of him, for the life 'of (their) 'master. Why

igitur manumisit eos? Metuebat scilicet,  
 therefore did-he manumit them? He-was-afraid forsooth,

ne indicarent, ne  
 lest-that they-might-give-information (against him), and that 'they-could

non perferre dolorem, ne cogerentur  
 not 'support pain, and-lest-that-they-would-be-forced

tormentis confiteri, P. Clodium occisum esse a  
 by-tortures to-confess, (that) P. Clodius was-killed by

servis Milonis in Appiâ viâ. Quid opus est  
 the slaves of-Milo on the Appian road. What need is there of

tortore? Quid quæris? Ne occiderit?  
 torture? What do-you-inquire-about? 'Was-he not 'killed?

Occidit. Jure an injuriâ? Nihil  
 He-was-killed. Lawfully or unlawfully? (This has) nothing

ad tortorem. Enim quæstio facti est in  
 (to do with) the torturer. For the-question of-that-fact (belongs to)



equuleo,                      juris                      in  
 the torture,    (the question)    of-the-lawfulness    (belongs to)  
 judicio.  
 the-courts-of-justice.

22. Quid igitur est quærendum in causâ,  
 What therefore (is) to-be investigated in (his) cause,  
 agamus id hîc; quod vis invenire  
 we-will-treat-of it here; that-which you-wish to-find-out  
 tormentis, fatemur id. Si potius vero quæris id,  
 by-tortures, we-confess it. If you rather indeed inquire that,  
 cur manu miserit, quàm cur effecerit  
 why he manumitted (his slaves,) than why he-gave-them  
 parùm amplis præmiis, necis reprehendere  
 less ample rewards, you-do-not-know (how) to-find-fault-with  
 factum inimici. Enim M. Cato, qui semper  
 the act of-an-enemy. For M. Cato, who always (says)  
 omnia constanter et fortiter, dixit hic idem, et  
 every-thing with-firmness and forcibly, said this same, and  
 dixit in turbulentâ concione, quæ tamen placata est  
 he-said (it) in a turbulent assembly, which however was stilled  
 hujus auctoritate, qui defendissent  
 'by his authority, (that those slaves) who had-defended  
 caput domini, fuisse dignissimos, non solùm  
 the-life-of (their) master, were most-worthy, not only  
 libertate, sed etiam omnibus præmiis. Enim quod  
 of liberty, but also (of) all rewards. For what  
 præmium est satis magnum tam benevolis, tam  
 reward is sufficiently great 'for such 'well-disposed, such  
 bonis, tam fidelibus servis, propter quos vivit?  
 good, such faithful slaves, through whom he-lives?  
 Etsi id quidem est non tanti, quàm  
 Although that indeed is not so-great (if we consider), that  
 quòd propter eosdem, non satiavit mentem  
 because through the same-slaves, 'he did-not 'sate the-mind  
 que oculis crudelissimi inimici, sanguine  
 and eyes of (his) most-cruel enemies, with (his) blood  
 et suis vulneribus. Quos nisi manumisset,  
 and his wounds. Whom unless he-had-manumitted,

**conservatores** **domini,** **ultores** **sceleris,**  
 the preservers 'of (their) 'master, the avengers of crime,  
**defensores** **necis,** **dedendi fuerunt** **etiam**  
 the averters 'of (his) 'death, would-have-to-be-surrendered even  
**tortentis.** **Vero hic,** **in** **his malis,** **habet** **nihil,**  
 to-tortures. But he, in these misfortunes, has nothing,  
**quod ferat** **minùs moleste,** **quàm,** **etiãmsi**  
 that he-bears less anxiously (than this,) that, although  
**quid** **accidat** **ipsi,** **tamen meritum præmium**  
 any-thing might-happen to-himself, yet a merited reward  
**persolutum esse** **illis.** **Sed quæstiones,**  
 had-been-conferred (on) them [the slaves]. But the examinations  
**quæ** **nunc habitæ sunt,** **in**  
 (of the slaves by torture,) which have just now been-had, in  
**atrio Libertatis,** **urgent** **Milonem.** **De quibusdam**  
 the hall of-Liberty, press-hard against Milo. From what  
**servis?** **Rogas?** **de** **P. Clodii,** **quis**  
 slaves? Do-you-ask? from (the slaves) of P. Clodius, who  
**postulavit eos?** **Appius.** **Quis produxit?** **Appius.**  
 demanded them? Appius. Who brought-them-forth? Appius.  
**Unde?** **Ab** **Appio.** **Boni dii!** **quid potest**  
 Whence? From the-house-of Appius. Good gods! what can  
**agi** **severius?** **est** **nulla quæstio lege** **de**  
 be-done more-severely? there-can-be no examination by-law (of)  
**servis** **in** **dominum,** **nisi** **de** **incestu,** **ut**  
 slaves against (their) master, unless concerning incest, as  
**fuit** **in Clodium.** **Clodius** **accessit** **proxime**  
 was the case (with) Clodius. Clodius has-approached most-nearly  
**deos,** **propius** **quàm** **tum,** **quum** **penetraret**  
 to-the-gods, more-nearly than then, when he-had-penetrated  
**ad ipsos,** **de**  
 unto them, [when he had violated the mysteries of Bona dea] concerning  
**morte** **cujus** **quæritur** **tanquam** **de**  
 the death of-this-man an-investigation-is-had, as if concerning  
**violatis** **cærimoniniis.** **Sed tamen nostri majores**  
 the violated sacred-rites. But however our ancestors  
**noluerunt** **de servo** **quæri** **in** **dominum,**  
 would-not (allow) of a slave to-be-examined against (his) master,

non quia verum posset non inveniri, sed quia  
not because the truth could not be-discovered, but because

videbatur indignum, et tristius  
it-seemed improper, and more-sad (and distressing) 'to (their)

dominis, quàm morte ipsa. Quum quæritur de  
'masters, than death itself. When an examination-is made of

servo accusatoris in reum, potest verum  
the slave of the accuser against the defendant, can the truth

inveniri? Vero age, quæ erat, aut qualis  
be-discovered? But come, what was-it, or how (was)

quæstio? Heus tu, Rufio, causâ  
the examination (conducted)? Holloa you, Rufio, for-the-sake

verbi cave, sis,  
of-a-name [or example] take-care, if-you-please, (that) 'you-do (not)

mentiari. Clodius fecit insidias Miloni?  
'teli-a-lie. Did Clodius lay snares for Milo? (should the

fecit. Crux certa  
slave answer) he-did. The cross (is) sure (to be his punishment, but

fecit nullas. Libertas sperata. Quid  
should he say) he-laid none. Freedom is-to-hoped-for. What

certius hac quæstione. Subitò abrepti  
(is) more certain (than) this examination. They-are suddenly taken-off

in quæstionem, tamen separantur a ceteris, et  
for an examination, however they-are-separated from others, and

conjiciuntur in arcas, ne quis possit colloqui  
thrown into cells, lest any-one might speak

cum iis. Hi quum fuissent centum dies penes  
with them. These when they-had-been a hundred days in-the-power-of

accusatorem, producti sunt, ab eo ipso accusatore.  
the accuser, are-brought-forward, by that same accuser.

Quid potest dici integrius hac quæstione?  
What can be-said (to be) more-impartial (than) this examination?

Quid incorruptius?  
What more-incorruptible?

23. Quod si nondum cernitis satis  
Which if 'you do not-yet 'see-this sufficiently (clear,)

quum res ipsa luceat, tot tam claris  
when the thing itself is-manifest, by so-many such clear

argumentis que signis, recordamini, per  
proofs and indications, recollect, (I entreat you) by

immortales deos; Milonem revertisse Romam,  
the immortal gods; (that) Milo had-retained to-Rome,

purâ atque integrâ mente, imbutum nullo scelere,  
with-a-pure and irreproachable mind, tainted with-no crime,

perteritum nullo metu, exanimatum nullâ con-  
terrified with-no-fear, breathless-and-pale with-no con-

scientiâ; quæ fuerit celeritas ejus reditûs, qui  
scientific-fear; what was the speed of-his return, who

ingressus in forum, curiâ ardente, quæ  
entered into the forum, the senate-house being-on-fire, what

magnitudo animi, qui vultus, quæ oratio. Neque  
greatness of-mind, what a countenance, what an oration. Nor

vero commissit se solûm populo, sed etiam  
indeed did-he-commit himself alone to the people, but also

senatui, neque senatui modò, sed etiam publicis  
to-the-senate, nor to-the-senate only, but also to-the-public

præsidiis et armis, neque his tantum, verûm etiam  
guards and arms, nor to-these only, but-indeed also

potestati ejus, cui senatus commiserat totam  
to-the-power of-him, to-whom the senate had-entrusted the entire

republicam, omnem pubem Italiæ, cuncta arma  
republic, all the youths of-Italy, (and) all the arms

Romani populi; cui nunquam  
(and forces) of-the-Roman people; to-whom 'he-would never

profectò tradidisset se, nisi confideret suæ  
indeed 'have-given himself 'up, unless he-trusted to-his

causæ, præsertim, audienti omnia, metuenti  
cause, especially (to him), hearing all, fearing

magna, suspicanti multa, credenti nonnulla. Magna  
great-things, suspecting many, believing some. Great

est vis conscientiæ, judices, et magna in utramque  
is the power of-conscience, O judges, and great on both

partem, ut, qui  
sides, (either of guilt or innocence) so that, those-who

commiserint nihil neque timeant, et qui  
may-have-committed no (fault) do-not fear, and those-who



peccant, putent poenam semper versari  
have-done-wrong, think (that) punishment 'is always 'present

ante oculos. Neque vero,  
before (their) eyes [is always ready to overtake them]. Nor indeed,

sine certâ ratione, causa Milonis semper  
without certain (and good) reason, 'was the cause of Milo always

probata est a senatu. Enim sapientissimi  
'approved by the senate. For (these) most-wise

homines videbant rationem facti,  
men saw the reason (and lawfulness) of-the-deed,

praesentiam animi, constantiam  
the presence of mind, the constancy (and perseverance)

defensionis. Vero an, iudices, obliti estis, illo  
of defence. But 'have you, O judges, 'forgotten, the

nuntio necis Clodianæ recenti, sermones  
announcement of-the-murder (of) Clodius being-yet-recent, the language

et opiniones, non modò inimicorum, sed etiam  
and opinions, not only 'of (his) 'enemies, but also

nonnullorum imperitorum? Negabant,  
of some inexperienced (and ignorant persons)? They-denied,

eum rediturum esse Romam. Enim sive  
(that) he [Milo] would-return to Rome. For if-that

fecisset illud, irato ac percito animo, ut  
he-had-done that, in an angry and excited (state of) mind, that

incensus odio trucidaret inimicum, abitrabantur,  
inflamed by-hatred he-had-killed (his) enemy, they-thought,

eum putasse mortem P. Clodii tanti,  
(that) he would-consider the death of-P. Clodius of-so-much-account,

ut careret patriâ, æquo animo;  
that he-might-want (his) country, with-an-equal mind: [that he would

quum explesset suum odium  
contentedly go into banishment] since he-had-satiated his hatred

sanguine inimici; etiam sive voluisset liberare  
by-the-blood of (his) enemy; also if he-had-wished to-liberate

patriam morte illius fortem  
(his) country by-the-death of-that-man (Clodius, that he) a brave

virum non lubitaturum, quin, quum attulisset  
man 'would not 'hesitate, but-that, when he-had-brought

salutem reipublicæ, suo periculo, cederet legibus  
 safety to-the-republic, by-his-own danger, he-would-submit to-the-laws

æquo animo; auferret cum se sempiternam  
 with-a-resigned mind; (that) he-would-carry with himself everlasting

gloriam; relinqueret nobis fruenda hæc, quæ  
 glory; (and) would leave us to-enjoy those-things, which

ipse servasset. Multi etiam loquebantur  
 he-himself had-preserved (for us). Many also talked

Catilinam, atque illa portenta  
 (concerning) Catiline, and those monsters (of-his-party, say-

ing, that) "Erumpet, occupabit aliquem locum,  
 "He-will-break-out, he-will-occupy some place,

faciet bellum patriæ." Miseros cives,  
 (that) he-may-make war (on his) country." O miserable citizens,

interdum meritos optime de republica, in  
 (who) sometimes having-deserved most-well of the republic, in

quibus, homines non modò obliviscuntur præclarissimas  
 whom, men not only forget the-most-renowned

res, sed etiam suspicantur nefarias!  
 deeds, but even suspect (the most) nefarious (designs)!

Ergo illa fuerunt falsa; quæ certe exstitissent  
 Therefore those-things were false; which certainly would-have-been

vera, si Milo admisisset aliquid, quod posset non  
 true, if Milo had-committed any-thing, which he-could not

honeste que vere defendere.

I honestly and truly defend.

24. Quid? ut sustinuit, quæ

(But) what (more? how) that he-bore (those charges), which

postea congesta sunt in eum quæ perculissent  
 afterwards were heaped on him which would-have-struck-down

quemvis, etiam conscientiam mediocrium delictorum,  
 any-one, even with the consciousness of moderate offences,

immortales dii! sustinuit? immo vero  
 immortal gods! did-he-bear (them)? yes indeed (it may

ut contempsit, ac putavit pro nihilo;  
 he said) that he-despised-them, and considered them as nothing;

quæ neque nocens maximo animo, neque  
 which neither a guilty-man with-the-most-resolute mind, nor

innocens, nisi fortissimus vir, potuisset negligere  
the innocent-man, unless a very-brave man, could have-neglected.

Indicabatur etiam multitudo scutorum, gladiatorum,  
It-was-intimated (that) even a-great-number of-shields, of swords,

frenorum, que pilorum posse deprehendi, dicebant,  
of-bridles, and of-javelins could be seized, they-said,

esse nullum vicum, nullum angiportum in  
(that) there-was no street, (or) no alley in

urbe, in quo non domus conducta esset  
the city, in which 'there-was not a house 'hired

Miloni; arma devecta Tiberi in villam  
for-Milo; (that) arms were-carried-on the Tiber 'to (his) 'villa (of)

Oriculanam; domus in Capitolino clivo referta  
O. iculum; (that his) house on the Capitoline hill was-filled

scutis; omnia plena malleolorum  
with-shields; (that) all (places) were-full of-fire-brands

comparatorum ad incendia urbis. Hæc non  
prepared for the burning of-the city. These things were not

solùm delata, sed pæne credita, nec repudiata sunt  
only reported, but nearly believed, nor were-they-repudiated

ante quàm quæsitâ. Equidem  
[disbelieved] before that they-were-investigated. 'I indeed

laudabam incredibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompeii; sed  
'praised the incredible diligence of-Cn. Pompey; but

dicam, ut sentio, iudices. Nimis multa  
I-will-say, that (which) I think, O judges. Too many-things

coguntur audire,  
are-made-necessary to hear [too many things are required to be listened

neque possunt ii facere aliter, quibus tota  
to], nor can those do otherwise, to-whom the whole

respublica commissa est, cui fuerit etiam  
republic is entrusted, to whom [Pompey] it-was even

Licinius, nescio qui,  
(necessary that a certain) Licinius, I-know-not who, (but)

popa, de maximo circo,  
a-servant-and-attendant-on-the-sacrifices, from the great circus,

[where he kept an eating and drinking house for slaves, and low people]

**audiendus fuerit ;**                      **servos Milonis, factos**  
 should-be-heard ;                      (he stated, that)                      slaves of Milo,                      made  
**ebrios apud se, confessos esse sibi,**  
 drunk at his-house,                      had-confessed to-him, (that)  
**conjurasse de interficiendo Pompeio, dein**  
 they-had-conspired (together) about                      killing Pompey, after  
**postea, se percussum esse gladio ab uno de illis,**  
 (which), (that) he                      was-struck with-a-sword by one of them,  
**ne indicaret. Nuntiavit Pompeio in**  
 lest he-might-give-information. (This) he-announced to Pompey at  
**hortos. Arcessor in primis. De sententiâ**  
 (his) country-seat. I-am-called-for especially. By the advice  
**amicorum defert rem ad senatum. Poteram**  
 'of (his)                      'friends he-refers the affair to the senate. I-could  
**non, non exanimari metu, in tantâ suspitione**  
 not, but be-nearly-frightened-to-death by fear, in such a suspicion  
**illius custodis mei que patriæ, sed**  
 (of the danger) of-that guardian of-myself and country, but  
**mirabar tamen, credi popæ,**  
 I-wondered however, that-credit-should-be-given-to-the-sacrificial-servant,  
**confessionem servorum audiri, vulnus in**  
 (that) the confession of slaves should-be-heard, (that) the wound in  
**latere, quod videretur acii punctum,**  
 the side, which seemed (to be given by) the point of a needle,  
**probari pro ictu gladiatoris. Verum, ut**  
 should-be-taken for the stroke of-a-gladiator. But-truly, as  
**intelligo, Pompeius magis cavebat, quàm**  
 I-understand, Pompey 'acted more 'with precaution, than  
**timebat, non ea solùm quæ**  
 that-he-feared (anything), not those-things only which  
**timenda erant, sed omnia, ne**  
 were-to-be-feared, but all-things (are to be guarded against), lest  
**vos timeretis aliquid.**  
 you may-fear something [lest you may have cause for fear]  
**Nuntiabatur, domus C. Cæsaris, clarissimi et**  
 It-was-reported, (that) the house of C. Cæsar, a most-illustrious and  
**fortissimi viri, oppugnata per multas horas noctis.**  
 most-brav man, was-assailed during many hours of-the-night.



Nemo, tam celebri loco, audierat, nemo senserat;  
 No-one, in so conspicuous a place, had-heard (it), no-one perceived (it,  
 tamen audiebatur. Poteram non suspicari, Cn.  
 yet it-was-reported. I-could not suspect, (that) Cn.

Pompeium, virum præstantissimâ virtute timidum;  
 Pompey, a man of-most-distinguished courage (to be) timid;

putabam nullam diligentiam nimiam,  
 (and) I-thought (that) no diligence (could be) too-great,

susceptâ totâ republica.  
 (in one) having-undertaken (the management of) the whole republic.

Nuper frequentissimo senatu, in  
 Lately in-a-very-full (meeting-of the) senate, (held) in

Capitolio, senator inventus est, qui diceret Milonem  
 the Capitol, a senator was found, who said (that) Milo

esse cum telo. Nudavit se  
 was with a weapon [was armed]. He-bared himself [by throwing

in sanctissimo templo, quoniam vita  
 back his clothes] in the-most-holy temple, because the life

et talis civis et viri, non faciebat fidem,  
 both of such a citizen and (such) a man, did not procure (him) credit,

ut, eo tacente, res loqueretur ipsa.  
 that, he being-silent, the thing might-speak (for) itself.

25. Omnia comperta sunt falsa atque insidiose  
 All-things have-been-found (to be) false, and insidiously

ficta; quum tamen etiam nunc Milo metuitur.  
 devised; yet however even now Milo is feared. 'We-do

Non jam timemus hoc crimen Clodianum,  
 not at-present 'fear this accusation (respecting) Clodius,

sed tuas, Cn. Pompei, (enim jam appello te, et  
 but yours, O Cn. Pompey, (for 'I now 'address you, and

eâ voce, ut possis exaudire me) tuas, tuas,  
 with-such a voice, that you-may hear me) your, your,

inquam, suspiciones perhorrescimus. Si times  
 I-say, suspicions we-shudder-at. If you-fear

Milonem, si putas hunc aut nunc cogitare  
 Milo, if-you think (that) he either now meditates (any-

nefarie de tuâ vitâ, aut aliquando  
 thing) wickedly concerning your life, or that 'he-ever

molitum aliquid, si delectus  
 'attempted any-thing (against your life), if the-levying-of-troops  
 Italiae, ut nonnulli tui conquisitores  
 (throughout) Italy, as some of-your agents-to-enroll-troops  
 dictitarunt; si hæc arma, si cohortes  
 have-frequently-asserted; if these arms, if (these) cohorts (in)  
 Capitolinae, si excubiae, si vigiliae, si deleta  
 the Capitol, if (these) sentinels, if (these) watchmen, if the chosen  
 juvenus, quæ custodit tuum corpus que domum,  
 youths, who guard your person and house,  
 armata est contra impetum Milonis; atque omnia  
 are-armed against an attack of-Milo; and all  
 illa sunt instituta, parata, intenta in hunc  
 those-things are instituted, prepared, (and) directed against this  
 unum, certe in hoc magna vis et  
 one (man), (there is) certainly in him a great power and  
 incredibilis animus, et vires atque opes indicantur  
 incredible courage, and forces and means are-indicated  
 non unius viri, si quidem et  
 not (in the possession) of-one man, if indeed both  
 præstantissimus dux, et tota respublica  
 the-most-eminent general, and the whole republic  
 armata est in hunc unum. Sed quis  
 is-armed against this one (man). But who (is there, that)  
 non intelligit, omnes partes reipublicæ, ægras  
 does not understand, (that) all the parts of-the-republic, feeble  
 et labantes, commissas esse tibi, ut sanares et  
 and tottering, were-committed to-you, that you-might-heal and  
 confirmares eas his armis? Quòd si locus  
 strengthen them by-these arms? That if an opportunity  
 datus esset Miloni profectò probasset tibi  
 had-been-given to-Milo 'he-had certainly 'proved to-you  
 ipsi, neminem hominem fuisse unquam  
 yourself, (that) no man was ever  
 cariorum homini, quàm te sibi; se  
 more-dear to-man, than you (were) to-himself; (that) he  
 unquam fugisse nullum periculum pro tuâ  
 at-any-time avoided no danger for (promoting) your

dignitate; se sæpissime contendisse cum illâ  
 dignity; (that) 'he had 'very-often contended with that  
 ipsâ teterrimâ peste, pro tuâ gloriâ; suum  
 same most-foul pest, for your glory; (that) his  
 tribunatum, gubernatum tuis consiliis,  
 tribuneship, governed by-your counsels, (was directed,  
 ad meam salutem, quæ fuisset carissima tibi;  
 to my safety, which was most-dear to-you; (that)  
 se postea defensum a te,  
 he 'was afterwards 'defended by you, (when he was)  
 in periculo capitis,  
 in danger 'of (his) 'life, [of conviction for a capital offence,]  
 adjutum in petitione præturæ;  
 (that) he-was-assisted (by you) in seeking the prætorship; (that)  
 se semper sperasse habere duos amicissimos,  
 'he always 'hoped to-have two most-friendly (to himself),  
 te tuo beneficio, me  
 you (on account of) your benefits (conferred on himself), me (on ac-  
 suo. Quæ si non  
 count of) his (services, rendered to me). Which if 'he-had not  
 probaret, si ista suspicio ita penitus inhæsisset,  
 'proved, if this suspicion 'had so deeply 'taken-root,  
 ut posset nullo modò evelli, si denique Italia  
 that it-could in-no wise be-eradicated, if in-fine Italy  
 nunquam inquietura esset a delectu,  
 'was never 'to-rest from (these) levies-of-soldiers  
 urbs ab armis, sine clade Milonis,  
 (nor) the city from arms, without the destruction of-Milo,  
 næ iste haud dubitans cessisset  
 certainly he without hesitating would-have-departed 'from his  
 patriâ, is, qui natus est ita, et consuevit  
 'country, he, who 'was-born (to do) so, and was-accustomed-to-do  
 ita; tamen antestaretur te Magne,  
 so however he-would-have-called-on you (to witness) O Magnus,  
 quod nunc etiam facit.  
 (that he was innocent), which 'he now also 'does.

26. Vide, quàm varia, quo commutabilis ratio  
 See, how various, and changeable the course



vitæ, quàm vaga que volubilis fortuna, quantæ  
 of-life, how uncertain and inconstant (is) fortune, what  
 infidelitates in amicitii, quàm simulationes aptæ ad  
 faithlessness in friendships, what dissembling suited to  
 tempus, in periculis, quantæ fugiæ proximorum,  
 the times, in dangers, what desertion of-relations-and-friends,  
 quantæ timiditates. Erit, erit profectò  
 what timidity. There-will-be, there-will-be certainly  
 tempus, et ille dies aliquando illucescet, quum  
 a time, and that day 'will at-some-time 'appear, when  
 tu, tuis rebus, ut spero, salutaribus, sed fortasse  
 you, your affair, as I-hope, being-prosperous, but perhaps  
 aliquo motu temporum communium (qui  
 by-some commotion of-the-times common (to them) (which  
 quàm crebro accidat, experti debemus  
 now often it-may-happen, 'we-experienced 'ought  
 scire) desideres et benevolentiam amicissimi,  
 to-know) you-may-want both the-good-will of-the-dearest-friend,  
 et fidem gravissimi hominis, et  
 and the good-faith of-a-most-dignified (and influential) man, and  
 magnitudinem animi unius fortissimi viri, post  
 the greatness of-mind of-one of-the-bravest men, since  
 homines natos. Quamquam  
 men were-born. [The bravest man that ever lived.] Although  
 quis credat hoc, Cn. Pompeium, peritissimum  
 who would-believe this, (that) Cn. Pompey, most-skilled  
 publici juris, moris majorum, denique  
 (in) public law, the customs 'of (our) 'ancestors, (and) in-fine  
 publicæ rei, quum senatus commiserit ei,  
 (in) public affairs, when the senate had-entrusted to-him,  
 ut videret "ne respublica caperet quid  
 that he-should-see "lest the republic should-receive any (thing of)  
 detrimenti" quo uno versiculo consules semper  
 injury" by-which one short-line the consuls were always  
 satis armati fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis,  
 sufficiently 'armed, even no arms being-given  
 hunc exercitu, hunc  
 (to them), (that) he (having) an army (given him), (that) he 'having



delectu                      dato,                      expectaturum  
 a levy-of-soldiers      'granted      (him),      would-wait  
 fuisse judicium, vindicandis consiliis ejus, qui  
 for the-decision-of-a-court, in-punishing designs-of-that man, who  
 tolleret      vi      judicia      ipsa?      Satis  
 would-destroy      by-force      the courts      themselves? It was sufficiently  
 judicatum est, a Pompeio, satis      ista  
 decided      by Pompey, sufficiently-so (that) these-charges  
 falsò conferri in Milonem,      qui  
 'were falsely 'brought against Milo, (and by Pompey), who  
 tulit legem, qua ut ego sentio oporteret  
 brought-forward the law, by-which as I think it-was-necessary  
 Milonem absolvi a vobis, ut omnes  
 (that) Milo should-be-acquitted by you, (and) as all  
 confitentur      liceret.      Verò quòd  
 confess      It-might-be-allowed (for him to be so). But as  
 sedet in illo loco, atque circumfusus illis copiis  
 he-sits in that place, and surrounded by-those forces  
 publicorum præsidiarum, satis declarat, se  
 of-public      guards, 'he sufficiently 'declares, (that) he  
 non inferre terrorem vobis (enim quid minus  
 'does not 'bring fear to-you (for what less  
 dignum illo, quàm cogere, ut vos condemnetis  
 worthy (of) him, than to-force (you), that you should-condemn  
 eum, in quem ipse posset animadvertere, et  
 him, on whom he-himself could inflict-punishment, both  
 more      majorum, et suo jure) sed  
 according-to-the-customs 'of (our) 'ancestors, and by-his right) but  
 esse præsidio      ut      intelligatis  
 (that this) is for-a-guard (to you) that you-may-understand (that)  
 licere vobis      judicare      libere, quòd  
 it-is-allowed      you to-pronounce-your-judgment freely, as  
 sentiatis, contra illam concionem histernam.  
 you-think, against that meeting (of) yesterday.

27. Nec verò judices, crimen Clodianum  
 Nor indeed 'does, O judges, the accusation concerning Clodius  
 movet me, nec sum tam demens, que tam ignarus  
 'move me, nor am-I & so foolish, and so ignorant

atque expers vestri sensûs, quid sentiatis  
and devoid (of knowledge) of-your opinion, what you-think

de morte Clodii. De qua, si nollem jam  
concerning the death of-Clodius. Concerning which, if I-would-not now

ita diluere crimen, ut dilui, tamen  
so do-away (with) the accusation, as I-have-done-away (with it), yet

liceret Miloni palam clamare impune, ac  
it-would-be-allowed Milo openly to-exclaim with-impunity, and

glorioso mentiri: "Occidi, occidi, non Sp.  
boastingly to-tell-an-untruth: "I-have-killed, I-have-killed, not Sp.

Mælium, qui levanda  
Mælius, who (attempting, or) being-about-to-lower (the price of)

annona, que jacturis familiaris rei, quia  
provisions, and at-the-expense 'of (his) 'private fortune, because

videbatur amplecti plebem nimis, incidit in  
he-seemed (as) having-favoured the people too-much, he-fell under

suspicionem appetendi regni, non Ti. Gracchum,  
suspicion of-seeking royalty-and-power, not Ti. Gracchus,

qui abrogavit magistratum collegæ per  
who abrogated the magistracy (of his) colleague by

seditionem, interfectores quorum impleverunt orbem  
sedition, the slayers of-whom filled the whole

terrarum gloriâ sui nominis; sed eum (enim  
world with-the-renown of-their name; but him (for

auderet dicere, quum liberasset patriam  
he-might-dare to-speak, since he-had-saved (his) country

suo periculo) cujus nefandum adulterium in  
by-his-own danger) whose infamous adultery in

sanctissimis pulvinaribus, nobilissimæ feminae  
the-most-holy shrines, most-noble women

comprehenderunt; eum, cujus supplicio, senatus  
detected; him, 'by whose 'punishment, the senate 'had

sæpe censuit, sollemnes religiones expiandas;  
often 'decreed, (that) solemn religious-rites ought-to-be-expiated;

eum, quem L. Lucullus juratus, dixit se  
him, whom L. Lucullus having-sworn, said (that) he

comperisse, fecisse nefarium stuprum cum  
had-discovered, (that) he-had-committed a nefarious incest with

germanâ sorore, habitis quæstionibus; eum,  
his-own sister, having-had an examination (of her slaves); him,

qui exterminavit, armis servorum, civem,  
who had-driven-into-exile, by-the-arms of-slaves, a citizen

quem senatus, quem Romanus populus, quem  
[Cicero], whom the senate, whom the Roman people, whom

omnes gentes judicabant conservatorem urbis  
all nations had-judged (to be) the preserver of-the-city,

ac vitæ civium; eum, qui dedit ademit  
and of-the-life of-the-citizens; him, who gave (and) took-away

regna, partitus est orbem terrarum cum  
kingdoms, (and who) divided the world with

quibus voluit; eum, qui, plurimis cædibus factis  
whom he-pleased; him, who, many murders being-committed

in foro, compulit domum vi et armis civem  
in the forum, drove to-his-house by-force and arms a citizen

singulari virtute et gloriâ;  
[Pompey] (distinguished) 'by (his) 'singular bravery and renown:

eum, cui nihil fuit unquam nefas, nec in facinore  
him, to-whom nothing was ever forbidden, either in crime

nec in libidine; eum, qui incendit ædem  
or in lust; him, who set-fire to-the-temple

Nympharum, ut exstingeret publicam memoriam  
of-the-Nymphs, that he-might-destroy the public records

recensionis impressam publicis tabulis; eum denique,  
of-the-census impressed on-the-public tablets; him in-fine,

cui jam erat nulla lex, nullum civili jus, nulli  
to-whom now there-was no law, no civil right, no

termini possessionum; qui petebat  
boundaries of-possession; who sought (to obtain possession of)

fundos alienos, non calumniâ  
the landed-estates (of) others, not by-the-quirks-and-chicanery

litium, non injustis vindiciis ac  
of-law-suits, not by-unjust legal-processes-and-claims and 'by (unjust)

sacramentis, sed castris, exercitu, inferendis  
'oaths, but by-camps, by-an-army, (and) advancing

signis; qui conatus est pellere  
the standards; [by military attacks] who endeavoured to-drive-from

possessionibus, armis que castris, non solum  
(their) possessions, by-arms and camps, not only

Etruscos (enim penitus contempserat eos), sed  
the Etrurians (for 'he entirely 'despised them), but (also)

hunc P. Varium, fortissimum atque optimum civem  
this P. Varius, a most-brave and most-excellent citizen

nostrum judicem; qui peragraba  
(and) our judge (in this cause); who travelled-through

villas que hortos multorum cum architectis et  
the villas and gardens of-many with architects and

decempedis; qui terminabat spem suarum  
en-feet-measuring-rods; who bounded the hopes of-his

possessionum Janiculo et Alpibus; qui, quum  
possessions by-the-Janiculum and the Alps; who, when

non impetrasset ab M. Paconio, splendido  
'he-could not 'obtain from M. Paconius, an illustrious

et forti Romano equite, ut venderet sibi insulam  
and brave Roman knight, that he-would-sell him the island

in lacu Prilio, repente convexit in eam insulam  
in lake Prilius, suddenly conveyed to that island

lintribus materiem, calcem, cæmenta, arma,  
in boats timber, lime, small-stones-for-building, and tools,

non dubitavit extruere ædificium in alieno,  
'he-did not 'hesitate to-build a house on another-man's

que domino trans ripam inspectante; qui  
(ground), and the proprietor on the opposite shore looking-on; who

huic T. Furfanio, cui viro? immortales  
(dared to say) to this T. Furfanius, to-what a man? O immortal

dii; (enim quid ego dicam de  
gods; (but why 'should I 'mention (any thing) concerning

mulierculâ Scantiâ, quid de adolescente  
the woman Scantia, why (any thing) concerning the young-man

P. Apinio? utrique quorum minatus est mortem,  
P. Apinius? both of-whom he-threatened (with) death,

nisi cessissent possessione hortorum sibi),  
unless they abandoned the possession 'f (their) 'gardens to-himself),

sed ausus est dicere Furfanio si non dedisset  
but he-dared to-say to-Furfanius that) if 'he-did not 'give



sibi pecuniam, quantam poposcerat, se  
 him money, as-much-as he-might-have-asked-for, (that) he  
 illaturum mortuum in ejus domum, quâ invidiâ  
 would-carry a dead-body in his house, by-which odium  
 conflagrandum esset tali viro huic;  
 'a flame (of indignation) 'would-break-out against-such a man (as) this;  
 qui dejecit Appium absentem fratrem, hominem  
 who turned Appius (his) absent brother, a man  
 conjunctum mihi fidissimâ gratiâ, de possessione  
 united to-me by-the-most-faithful friendship, from the possession  
 fundi; qui instituit ducere parietem sic per  
 'of (his) farm; who determined to-run a wall so through  
 vestibulum sororis, agere fundamenta  
 the vestibule 'of (his) 'sister's (house), (and) to-lay the-foundation  
 sic, ut non modò privaret sororem vestibulo,  
 so, that 'he not only 'deprived (his) sister (of her) vestibule,  
 sed omni aditu et limine."  
 'but (of) all access (to) and entrance by the threshold (of her house)."

28. Quamquam hæc videbantur jam quidem  
 Although these-things appeared then indeed (as)  
 tolerabilia, etsi æquabiliter irruerat  
 tolerable, although 'he equally 'attacked (and violently  
 in rempublicam, in privatos, in  
 rushed) (against) the republic, (against) private-persons, (against)  
 longinquas, in propinquas, in  
 those-at-a distance, against neighbours (and those near), against  
 alienos, in suos; sed nescio quomodo  
 strangers, (and) against his-own (relations); but I-know-not how  
 incredibilis patientia civitatis jam obduruerat  
 the incredible patience of-the-state 'had then 'become-hardened  
 et percalluerat usu. Vero quæ jam  
 and callous by-use. But (those things) which 'were already  
 aderant, et impendebant, quonam modo  
 'present, and impended (over you), in-what manner  
 potuissetis aut depellere aut ferre ea? Si ille  
 could-you either repel or bear them? If he  
 nactus esset imperium, omitto  
 had-obtained-possession (of) the empire, I-omit (and say nothing of our)

socios, exterarum nationes, reges, tetrarchas; enim  
allies, foreign nations, kings, and tetrarchs; for

faceretis vota,  
you-would-have-made vows, [you would have wished] 'that-he would

potius immitteret se in eos, quàm in vestras  
rather 'have-turned (his) 'attention to them, than to your

possessiones, vestra tecta, vestras pecunias; pecunias  
possessions, your houses, your money; money

dico? medius fidius, nunquam cohibuisset  
do-I-say? may Jupiter help me, 'he-would never 'have-restrained

suas effrenatas libidines a liberis, et a  
his unbridled lusts from (your) children, and from (your)

conjugibus. Putatis hæc fingi, quæ  
wives. Do-you-think (that) these-things are-feigned, which

patent, quæ sunt nota omnibus, quæ tenentur?  
are-evident, which are known to-all, which are-held (in

illum conscripturum fuisse, in  
our memory)? (was it not, that) he was-about-to-raise, in

urbe, exercitus servorum, per quos possideret totam  
the city, armies of-slaves, by whom he-might-possess the entire

rempublicam, quæ privatas res omnium? Quamobrem,  
republic, and the private fortunes of-all? Wherefore,

si T. Annius tenens cruentum gladium clamaret:  
if T. Annius holding a bloody sword had-cried-out:

"quæso cives adeste atque audite P.  
"I-entreat (you) O citizens draw-near and hear (that) I.

Clodium interfeci; ejus furores, quos jam  
Clodius has-been-killed; his furious-deeds, which heretofore

poteramus frenare nullis legibus, nullis judiciis,  
we-could restrain by-no laws, by-no courts,

repuhi a vestris cervicibus, hoc ferro et hac  
I-have-repelled from your necks, by-this sword and by-this

dexterâ, ut per me unum, jus, æquitas, leges,  
right-hand, that by me alone, right, equity, laws,

libertas, pudor, pudicitia manerent in civitate,"  
liberty, modesty, (and) chastity remains in the city,"

vero timendum esset quonam modo  
but it-would-have-to-be-feared (by Milo) in what manner

civitas ferret id! Enim nunc quis est,  
 the city would-bear this (announcement)! For now who is-there,  
 qui non probet? qui non laudet?  
 who 'does not 'approve? who 'does not 'praise (what has been done)?  
 qui, post memoriam hominum, non et dicat et  
 who, since the memory of-man, 'does not both 'say and  
 sentiat T. Annium unum plurimum profuisse  
 think '(that) T. Annius alone 'did very-great 'service  
 reipublicæ, affectisse Romanum populum,  
 to-the-republic, (and) to-have-affected the Roman people,  
 cunctam Italiam, omnes nationes maximâ  
 all Italy, (and) all nations with-the-greatest  
 lætitiâ? Non queo judicare, quanta fuerit illa  
 joy? I am not 'able to judge, how-great may-have-been that  
 vetera gaudia Romani populi. Tamen nostra ætas  
 old joy of-the-Roman people. Although our age  
 jam vidit clarissimas victorias summorum  
 'has already 'seen the-most-celebrated victories of-the-greatest  
 imperatorum, nulla quarum attulit neque tam  
 commanders, (yet) none of-these-victories brought either such  
 diuturnam, nec tantam lætitiâ. Mandate hoc  
 lasting, or such-great joy. Commit these  
 memoriæ, judices. Spero vos, que vestros liberos  
 to-memory, O judges. I-hope (that) you, and your children  
 visuros esse multa bona; in republica;  
 may-see many good-things (and happy days); in the republic;  
 in singulis iis, semper ita  
 as-respects each-one (of) these-things, 'you-will always so  
 existimabitis, P. Clodio vivo, visuros fuisse  
 'think, (that) P. Clodio being-alive, you-would-have-seen  
 nihil eorum. Adducti sumus in maximam spem, et  
 nothing of-them. We-have-been-led to the greatest hope, and  
 quemadmodum confido, verissimam, hunc ipsum  
 as I-confide, a most-true-hope, (that) this same  
 annum, hoc ipso summo viro consule,  
 year, this same eminent man (Pompey (being) consul,  
 licentiâ hominum compressâ, cupiditatibus  
 the-licentiousness of-men being-repressed, (evil) desires

fractis, legibus et judiciis  
 being broken-and-put-down, the laws and courts 'being (fully)  
 constitutis, fore salutarem  
 'established (in their authority), that-it-would-be a salutary (day)  
 civitati. Est num quis igitur tam demens, qui,  
 for-the-state. Is-there then any-one therefore so foolish, who,  
 arbitetur hoc potuisse contingere, P.  
 may think that this could happen (or be obtained), P.  
 Clodio vivo? Quid? quod jus perpetuæ possessionis  
 Clodius being-alive? What? what right of-perpetual possession  
 potuissent ea habere, quæ tenetis. privata  
 could those things have, which you-hold (as) private (property)  
 atque vestra, furioso homine dominante?  
 and your-own, this frenzied man ruling?

29. Non timeo, judices, ne inflammatus odio,  
 'I-do not 'fear, O judges, lest inflamed by-hatred,  
 mearum inimicitiarum, videar evomere  
 (arising from) my-own enmities, I-may-seem to-vomit-forth  
 hæc in illum libentius, quam verius. Etenim  
 these-charges against him more freely, than truly. For  
 etsi meum odium debebat esse præcipuum,  
 although my hatred (of him) ought to-be a principal thing,  
 tamen  
 (on account of the many and great injuries he inflicted on me), yet-however  
 ille erat ita communis hostis omnium, ut  
 he was so-much the common enemy of-all, that (my own  
 versaretur pæne æqualiter in  
 hatred seemed) to-be nearly equally (shared) in  
 communi odio. Potest non satis dici, ne  
 the general hatred. It-can not 'be sufficiently 'expressed, nor  
 quidem cogitari, quantum fuerit sceleris in illo,  
 indeed imagined, how-much there-was of-wickedness in him,  
 quantum exitii. Quin sic attendite,  
 how-much (there was) of-destruction-and-ruin. But thus pay-attention,  
 judices. Nempe hæc est quæstio de  
 O judges. For-certainly this is an-investigation concerning  
 interitu P. Clodii. Fingite animis (enim nostræ  
 the death of-P. Clodius. Imagine 'in (your) 'minds (for our



cogitationes sunt liberæ, et quæ volunt sic  
thoughts are free, and that-which they-wish 'they so  
intuentur, ut cernimus, ea quæ videmus),  
'contemplate, that we-distinguish-and-know those-things which-we-see),

fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus  
form therefore 'by (your) 'thoughts the image of-this

meæ conditionis, si possim efficere, ut  
my condition, if I-could effect (this), that

absolvatis Milonem, sed ita si P. Clodius  
you-acquit Milo, but so and-provided-that P. Clodius

revixerit. Vultu quid extimistis?  
should-again-live. By (your) countenance what have-you-feared?

Quonam modo

[Why is fear depicted in your countenances.] In-what manner 'would

ille vivus afficeret vos, quos mortuus  
he alive 'affect (and move) you, whom he-being-dead

percussit, inani cogitatione?  
'has (so) 'struck (and disturbed you) by-the-mere thought

Quid? si Cn. Pompeius ipse, qui est ea  
(of him)? What? if Cn. Pompey himself, who is such

virtute ac fortunâ, ut semper potuerit  
by-courage and by-fortune, that 'he-was always 'able (to do)

ea, quæ nemo, præter illum, si is,  
those-things, which no-one, except him, (could do), if he,

inquam, potuisset aut ferre questionem de  
I-say, could either institute an investigation concerning

morte P. Clodii, aut excitare ipsum ab inferis,  
the death of-P. Clodius, or raise him from the dead,

uterum putatis potius facturum fuisse?  
which-of-the-two do-you-think 'he-would rather 'have-done?

Etiamsi propter amicitiam vellet evocare illum  
Although on-account of-friendship he-might-wish to recall him

ab inferis, propter rempublicam non  
from death, (yet) on-account of-the-republic 'he-would not

fecisset Igitur sedetis ultores ejus mortis,  
'have-done (it). Therefore you-sit (as) avengers of-his death

cujus vitam, si puteis, posse restitui per  
whose life if you-thought, (that) it-could be-restored by

vos, nolitis, et de ejus necesse  
 you, you-would-not (restore it), and concerning his death  
 quæstio lata est, qui si posset  
 an investigation is instituted (by law), who if he could  
 revivescere eâdem lege, lex  
 revive by-the-same law, the law 'would-have  
 nunquam lata esset. Ne ergo interfector  
 never 'been-passed. 'Should then therefore the slayer  
 hujus, si esset timeret poenam, in confitendo,  
 of-this-man, if he-were-it, 'fear punishment, in confessing,  
 ab iis, quos liberavisset? Homines Græci  
 from those, whom he-had-freed? The men (of) Greece  
 tribuunt honores deorum iis viris, qui  
 grant the honours of-the-gods to-those men, who  
 necaverunt tyrannos. Quæ ego vidi Athenis?  
 have-slain tyrants. What 'have I (not) 'seen at-Athens?  
 quæ in aliis urbibus Græciæ? quas divinas res  
 what in other cities of Greece? what divine ceremonies  
 institutas talibus viris? quos cantus? quæ  
 have-been-instituted for-such men? what songs? what  
 carmina? Propè consecrantur et ad  
 odes? 'They-are nearly 'consecrated both to  
 religionem et memoriam immortalitatis.  
 religion and (to) the memory of-immortality. [They are  
 almost honoured as gods.] Vos non modò afficietis  
 almost honoured as gods.] (And) 'do-you not only (not) 'reward  
 conservatorem tanti populi, ultorem tanti  
 the preserver of-so-great a people, (and) the avenger of-such-a-great  
 sceleris nullis honoribus, sed etiam  
 crime with (any) honours, but 'do-you even  
 patiemini rapi ad supplicium? Confiteretur,  
 'suffer (him) to-be-carried-off to punishment? He-would-confess,  
 confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno  
 he-would-confess, I-say, if he-had (done it), and with-a-great  
 animo et libente, se fecisse causâ  
 mind and willingly, (that) he had-done (it) for-the-sake  
 libertatis omnium, quod esset non modò  
 of-the-liberty of-all, which was not only

confitendum	ei	verùm	etiam
to-be-confessed	by-him	but-indeed	even

prædicandum.  
to be-proclaimed.

30. Etenim si non negat id, ex quo petit  
For if 'he-does not 'deny it, from which he-seeks  
nihil, nisi ut ignoscatur, dubitaret fateri  
nothing, unless that he-may-be-pardoned, would-he-hesitate to-avow  
id, ex quo etiam præmia laudis petenda essent?  
that, for which even the reward of-praise were-to-be-demanded?  
nisi verò putat esse gratius vobis, se  
unless indeed he-may-think (it) to-be more-grateful to-you, (that) he  
fuisse defensorem sui capitis, quàm  
'should-be the defender of-his-own life, than the (defender)  
vestri; quum praesertim, in ea confessione, si  
of-you; when especially, in that confession, if  
velletis esse grati, assequeretur amplissimos  
you-desire to-be grateful, he-would-attain-to the-most-ample  
honores; si factum non probaretur vobis,  
honours; if the deed 'were not 'approved-of by-you,  
(quamquam qui poterat non probari, cuiquam, sua  
(however who could not (but) approve, any-one, (for) his  
salus)? sed si tamen virtus  
safety) (obtained through him)? but if however the virtue  
fortissimi viri cecidisset minus grata  
of-a-very-brave man had-fallen-out (but) little agreeable 'to (his fellow)  
civibus, magno que constanti animo cederet ex  
'citizens, 'he with-a-great and constant mind 'had-departed from  
ingratâ civitate. Nam quid esset ingratius, quàm  
an ungrateful city. For what could-be more-ungrateful, than  
ceteros lætari, eum solum lugere,  
(that) others should-rejoice, (and that) he alone should-grieve,  
propter quem ceteri lætarentur? Quamquam semper  
through whom others rejoice? Although 'we always  
fuimus omnes hoc animo, in  
'were all in-this mind (and opinion, that) in  
opprimendis proditoribus patriæ, ut quoniam  
putting-down traitors 'to (their) 'country, that because

gloria futura esset nostra, quoque  
 the glory would-hereafter-be ours, (that) 'we should also  
 putaremus periculum et invidiam  
 'think (that) the danger and odium (would also be)  
 nostram. Nam quæ laus tribuenda esset mihi  
 ours. For what praise would-have-been-given to-me  
 ipsi, quum ausus essem tantum in meo consulatu  
 myself, when I-had-dared so-much in my consulship  
 pro vobis ac vestris liberis, si quum conabar id,  
 for you and your children, if when I-undertook it,  
 arbitrarer me ausurum esse, sine meis maximis  
 I-thought (that) I might-attempt (it), without my greatest  
 dimicationibus? Quæ mulier non auderet  
 contests-and-struggles? What woman (that) 'would not 'dare  
 occidere sceleratum ac perniciosum civem, si  
 to-kill a wicked and pernicious citizen, if 'she-did  
 non timeret periculum? Invidiâ, morte, poenâ  
 not 'fear the danger? Odium, death, punishment  
 proposita. qui nihilo segnius  
 being-placed-before (any one), (yet) he-who not-the-less tardily (for that)  
 defendit rempublicam, is vere putandus est vir.  
 defends the republic, he 'is truly 'to be-considered a man.  
 Est grati populi affiere præmiis cives,  
 It-is (the part) of-a-grateful people to-reward citizens, (who)  
 meritos bene de republica, fortis viri,  
 have-deserved well of the republic, (it is the part) of-a-brave man,  
 ne quidem moveri suppliciis, ut poeniteat  
 not even to-be-moved by-punishments, (so) that he-may-repent (that)  
 fecisse fortiter. Quamobrem T. Annius uteretur  
 he-acted bravely. Wherefore T. Annius may-make-use  
 eâdem confessione, qua Ahala, qua  
 (of) the same confession (and declaration), of-which Ahala, of-which  
 Nasica, qua Opimus, qua Marius, qua nosmet  
 Nasica, of-which Opimus, of-which Marius, of-which we  
 ipsi et si respublica esset grata  
 'we (have each made use of) (that) if the republic were grateful



lætaretur, si ingrata, tamen in gravi fortunâ  
he-would-rejoice, if ungrateful, however in (his) adverse fortune  
niteretur suâ conscientiâ.

he-would-rest (and depend) on his conscience (for support and consolation).

Sed, judices, fortuna Romani populi, et vestra  
But, O judges, the good-fortune of-the-Roman people, and your

felicitas et immortales dii putant deberi sibi  
happiness and the immortal gods think (that) they-owe him

gratiam hujus beneficii. ~~Sed et Clodius~~ Nec  
[Milo] gratitude (for) this favour (of destroying Clodius). Nor

verò potest quisquam arbitrari aliter, nisi qui  
indeed can any-one think otherwise, unless he-who

ducit esse nullam vim, ve divinum  
thinks (that) there is no divine power, no divine

numen, quem neque magnitudo nostri  
influence-and-providence, whom neither the greatness of-our

imperii, neque ille sol, nec motus Cœli que  
empire, neither that sun, nor the motions of-the-heavens and

signorum, nec vicissitudines rerum, atque ordines  
of-the-signs, nor the vicissitudes of-things, and (their) order

movent, neque id quod est maximum, sapientia  
move, nor that which is the greatest, the-wisdom

majorum, qui, et ipsi sanctissime  
'of (our) 'ancestors, who, and they-themselves most-holily

coluerunt sacra, qui cerimonias,  
observed the sacred (institutions), who (also) the ceremonies-and-rites

qui auspicia, et prodiderunt  
(of religion), who (also) the auspices, and transmitted (then.)

nobis suis posteris.  
to-us their posterity.

31. Est, profectò est illa vis, neque in  
There-is, 'there certainly 'is that power, nor-only in

his corporibus, atque in hac nostrâ imbecillitate  
these bodies, and in this our weakness

inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat, et inest  
there-is something-within, which is-vigorous and thinks, and is

non in hoc tanto tam præclaro  
not [and it is also much more so] in this so-great so glorious

motu naturæ. Nisi forte idcirco non putant  
 motion of nature. Unless perhaps for-that-reason 'they-do not 'think

quia apparet non, nec cernitur; proinde  
 (it to exist) because it-does-not-appear, nor is-seen; consequently

quasi possimus, aut plane videre, aut sentire  
 as-if we could, either clearly see (our mind), or feel

qualis, ubi sit, nostram mentem  
 what (it might be, or) where it might be, (that is) our mind

ipsam, qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua  
 itself, by-which we-are-wise, by-which we-have-foresight, by-which

agimus ac dicimus hæc ipsa. Ea igitur  
 we-do and say those very-same-things. That therefore (is)

ipsa vis, quæ sæpe attulit huic urbi incredibiles  
 the same power, which often has-brought to-this city incredible

felicitates atque opes; extinxit ac  
 prosperity and wealth (and power); it-destroyed and

sustulit illam perniciem, cui primum  
 removed that calamity [of Clodius], to-whom (it) first

injecit mentem, ut auderet  
 threw-into (his) mind, [it first inspired Clodius] that he-should-dare

irritare vi, que lacessere ferro fortissimum  
 to-irritate by-violence, and to-attack with-the-sword a-most-brave

virum, que vinceretur ab eo, quem si vicisset,  
 man, and he-was-conquered by him, whom if he-had-conquered,

habiturus esset sempiternam impunitatem et  
 he-would-have-had uninterrupted impunity and

licentiam. Illa res perfecta est, iudices, non humano  
 licentiousness. That thing was-accomplished, O judges, not by-human

consilio, ne quidem mediocri immortalium  
 counsels, nor indeed by-the-ordinary (counsels). of-the-immortal

deorum. Mehercule Religiones ipsæ, quæ  
 gods. By-Hercules the sacred-places themselves, which

viderunt illam belluam cadere, videntur, se  
 saw that monster fall, seem, (that) they

commovisse, et retinuisse suum jus  
 were moved, and to-have-maintained-and-defended their right

in illo. Enim jam imploro atque testor  
 over him. For 'I now 'implore and 'call on

vos, vos, inquam, Albani tumuli atque  
 you 'to-witness, you, I-say, O Alban mounts and

luci, que vos obrutæ aræ Albanorum sociæ  
 groves, and you O destroyed altars of-the Albans, the-associates

et æquales Romani populi, sacrorum, quas ille,  
 and equals of-the-Roman people, (in) the-sacred-rites, which he,

praeceps amentia, sanctissimis lucis,  
 (and his) headlong folly, the-most-holy groves,

cæsis que prostratis, oppresserat  
 being-cut-down and prostrated, had-oppressed (and buried)

insanis molibus substructionum; tum vestræ aræ,  
 by (his) insane masses of-substructures; then your altars,

vestræ religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit,  
 (then) your religious-rites flourished, your power prevailed,

quam ille polluerat omni scelere, que tu, sancte  
 which he had-polluted with-every crime, and you, O sacred

Jupiter Latiaris, ex tuo edito monte, cujus locus,  
 Jupiter Latiaris, from your high mountain, whose lakes,

nemora, que fines ille sæpe macularat omni  
 groves, and boundaries he 'had often 'defiled by-every

nefario stupro et scelere, aliquando aperuisti  
 wicked lust and crime, 'have at-length 'opened (your)

oculos ad puniendum eum; vobis, vobis in vestre  
 eyes to punish him; to-you, to-you in your

conspectu, illæ seræ, sed tamen justæ, et debitæ  
 view, those late, but however just, and due

poenæ solutæ sunt.  
 punishments have-been-paid (in atonement for such great crimes).

Nisi forte dicemus hoc etiam factum esse  
 Unless perhaps we-say (that) this also was-done

casu; ut ante sacrarium ipsum Bonæ Deæ, quod  
 by-chance; that before the shrine itself of Bona Dea, which

est in fundo T. Sestii, in primis honesti et  
 is in the-farm of T. Sestius, especially an honourable and

ornati adolescentis, ante ipsam Bonam Deam,  
 accomplished young-man, before that-same Bona Dea,

inquam, quum commisisset prælium, acciperet illud  
 I-say when he-had-begun the battle, he-received that

primum vulnus, quo obiret teterrimam mortem,  
 first wound, by-which he-died a most-shameful death,  
 ut videretur non absolutus, illo nefario judicio,  
 that he-seemed not acquitted, by-that iniquitous trial,  
 sed reservatus ad hanc insignem pœnam.  
 but reserved for this conspicuous punishment.

32. Nec vero non, eadem ira deorum  
 [Nor indeed not], and indeed the same anger of-the-gods  
 injecit hanc amentiam in ejus satellitibus, ut  
 excited this folly in his followers, that  
 abjectus ambureretur, sine  
 he-was-thrown-out (after) he-was-half-burnt, without (ancestral)  
 imaginibus, sine cantu atque  
 images, without (a funeral) song and (without funeral)  
 ludis, sine exsequis, sine lamentis, sine  
 games, without funeral-rites, without lamentations, without  
 laudationibus, sine funere, oblitus cruore et luto,  
 praises, without a funeral, besmeared with-blood and mud,  
 spoliatus celebritate illius supremi  
 deprived of-the-solemn-concourse (and honours) of-that last  
 diei, cui etiam inimici solent cedere. Credo  
 day, to-which even enemies are-accustomed to-accede. I-believe  
 fuisse non fas formas  
 (that) it-was not allowed (by the will of the gods), (that) the-images  
 clarissimorum virorum afferre aliquid decoris  
 of-the-most-illustrious men could-bring any-thing of-ornament  
 illi teterrimo parricidæ, neque in ullo  
 (and honour) to-that most-foul parricide, nor in any  
 loco ejus mortem lacerari potius,  
 place (that) his death [his dead body] might-be-lacerated rather,  
 quam in quo vita damnata esset.  
 than in that-which his life had-been-condemned.

Medius fidius, fortuna Romani populi  
 May Jupiter help me, (but) the fortune of-the-Roman people 'did  
 jam videbatur mihi dura et crudelis, quæ  
 heretofore 'appear to-me hard and cruel, which  
 pateretur illum, tot annos insultare  
 suffered him, for-so-many years to-insult (and attack)



in hanc rempublicam. Polluerat sanctissimas  
 this republic. He-had-polluted the-most-holy  
 religiones stupro, perfregerat gravissima  
 religious-rites with (his) lust, he-had-broken the most-weighty  
 decreta senatûs, palam redemerat se a  
 decrees of-the-senate, 'he-had openly 'freed himself from  
 iudicibus pecuniâ, in tribunatu, vexarat  
 the judges by-money, in (his) tribuneship, he-had-harassed  
 senatum, resciderat gesta, consensu  
 the senate, he-had-rescinded acts-passed, by-the-consent  
 omnium ordinum pro salute reipublicæ, expulerat  
 of-all the orders for the safety of-the-republic, he-had-expelled  
 me patriâ, diripuerat bona,  
 me 'from (my) 'country, he-had-plundered (my) property,  
 incenderat domum, vexarat meam  
 he-had-burned (my) house, he-had-ill-treated my  
 conjugem, liberos, indixerat nefarium bellum  
 wife (and) children, he-had-declared a-wicked war  
 Cn. Pompeio, effecerat cædes magistratuum  
 against Cn. Pompey, he had-made slaughter of-magistrates  
 que privatorum, incenderat domum mei  
 and of-private-persons, he-had-burned the house of-my  
 fratris, vastarat Etruriam, ejecerat multos  
 brother, he-had-laid-waste Etruria, he-had-ejected many  
 sedibus ac fortunis; instabat, urgebat;  
 'from (their) 'homes and possessions; he-pressed, he-urged;  
 civitas, Italia, provinciæ, regna poterant non  
 the city, Italy, the provinces, the kingdom could not  
 capere ejus amentiam; leges jam  
 contain his folly; the laws 'were already  
 incidebantur domi, quæ addicerent nos  
 'engraved (on brass) at-his-house, which were-to-subject us  
 nostris servis; erat nihil cujusquam,  
 to-our slaves; there-was nothing of-any-one, [belonging to any  
 one] which indeed he might-take-a-liking-to, which 'he-did not  
 putaret fore suum hoc anno. Nemo obstabat  
 'think would-be his this year. No-one was-an-obstacle

ejus cogitationibus, præter Milonem.  
 to his 'thoughts (and expectations), except Milo.

Arbitrabatur illum ipsum, qui poterat  
 He-thought (that) that same-person, [Pompey,] who could

obstare, novo reditu  
 (resist, and) be-an-obstacle (to him), 'would by-the-rate return

in gratiam quasi devinctum;  
 to favour (and friendship) 'be as-it-were 'bouna (to him);

dicebat potentiam Cæsaris esse suum;  
 he-said (that) the power of-Cæsar was his; the (good-will and)

animos bonorum in meo casu contempserat;  
 minds 'of (all) 'good-men in my cause he-despised;

Milo unus urgebat  
 Milo (was) the only-one (that) pressed-hard (on him).

33. Hic immortales dii, ut dixi supra, dederunt  
 Here the immortal gods, as I-have-said above, gave

mentem illo perduto ac furioso, ut  
 the mind 'to [inspired] 'that abandoned and furious-man, that

faceret insidias huic. Illa pestis  
 he-should-lay snares for-this-man. [Milo.] That pest (and wicked

potuit non aliter perire; nunquam  
 man) could not otherwise have-perished; (for) never would

respublica ulta esset illum suo jure.  
 the republic have-punished him by-their-own right (and laws).

Senatus, credo, circumscrisisset eum  
 The senate, I-suppose, would-have-circumscribed (and restrained) him

prætozem. Ne quidem quum solebat  
 (when) prætor. Not-even indeed when it-was-accustomed

facere id, profecerat aliquid  
 to-do this (with the magistrates), had-it-accomplished any-thing

hoc eodem, in privato.  
 (of the kind) with-this same-person, [Clodius] in private-life.

An fuissent consules fortes in coercendo  
 Whether 'would the consuls 'have-been vigorous in restraining

prætoze? Primùm, Milone occiso, habuisset  
 the prætor? In-the-first-place, Milo-being-killed, he-would-have-had

suos consules; deinde quis consul, in  
 his-own consuls; in-the-next-place what consui, on

eo prætor, esset fortis  
 this (Clodius) (being) prætor, would-have-been courageous (enough  
 per quem tribunum, meminisset  
 to resist him), by whom (when) tribune, he-may-have-remembered,  
 consularem virtutem esse crudelissimè vexatam?  
 (that) the consular dignity was most-cruelly harassed?  
 Oppressisset omnia possideret teneret;  
 He-had-oppressed all (that) he-might-possess (and) hold (all!);  
 novâ lege, quæ inventa est apud eum, cum reliquis  
 by-the-new law, which was found with him, with the other  
 Clodianis legibus, fecisset nostros servos suos  
 Clodian laws, he-would-have-made our slaves his  
 libertos. Postremo, nisi immortales dii impulissent  
 freedmen. Lastly, unless the immortal gods had-impelled  
 in eam mentem, ut effeminatus homo  
 into that mind, [had inspired him], that (he) an effeminate man  
 conaretur occidere fortissimum virum, hodie  
 should-attempt to-kill a-most-brave man, to-day  
 haberetis nullam rempublicam. An ille  
 you-would-have no republic. Whether he (as)  
 prætor, ille verò consul, si modò, eo vivo,  
 prætor, he indeed (as) consul, if indeed, he being-alive,  
 hæc templa, atque mœnia ipsa potuissent stare  
 these temples, and the walls themselves could-have stood  
 tamdiu, et exspectare ejus consulatum, denique  
 so-long, and waited-for his consulship, in-fine  
 ille vivus fecisset nihil mali, qui mortuus  
 'would he alive 'have-done nothing bad, who dead  
 incenderit curiam uno ex suis satellitibus,  
 burned the senate-house by-one from-among his satellites,  
 Sex. Clodio duce? Quo quid miserius,  
 Sex. Clodius being-the-leader? Than-this what more-miserable,  
 quid acerbius, quid luctuosius vidimus?  
 what more-grievous, what more-lamentable have-we seen?  
 Templum sanctitatis amplitudinis, mentis,  
 (That) the temple of-sanctity of-dignity, of-mind (and  
 publici consilii, caput urbis, aram  
 wisdom), of-public counsels, the head of-the-city, the altar

**sociorum,** portum omnium gentium, sedem  
 of-the-allies, the harbour of-all nations, the seat  
 concessam ab universo populo uni ordini  
 granted by the entire people to-one order (of the state),  
 inflammari, exscindi, funestari? neque  
 to-be-set-on-fire, to-be-destroyed, to-be-polluted? nor (that)  
 id fieri a(b) imperitâ multitudine, quamquam id  
 this was-done by a senseless mob, although this  
 ipsum esset miserum, sed ab uno? Qui  
 same would-have-been lamentable, but by one-person? Who  
 quum ustor pro mortuo ausus sit tantum,  
 when (only) a burner for the-dead may-have-dared so-much,  
 quid non ausus esset signifer pro  
 what 'would-he not 'have-dared (as) standard-bearer for  
 vivo? Potissimum abjecit in curiam,  
 the living? 'He above-all 'threw (him) into the-senate-house,  
 ut mortuus incenderet eam quam vivus  
 that dead he-might-set-on-fire that which alive  
 everterat. Et sunt, qui querantur  
 he-had-overthrown. And are-there (persons), who complain  
 de Appiâ viâ, taceant de  
 concerning (the affair on) the Appian road, (but) are-silent concerning  
 curiâ? et qui putent ab eo spirante  
 the-senate-house? and who may-think (that) against him breathing  
 forum potuisse defendi, cujus cadaveri  
 (and alive), the forum could have-been-defended, whose dead-body  
 curia non restiterit. Excitate, excitate  
 the senate-house 'could not 'resist. Resuscitate, resuscitate  
 ipsum, si potestis a mortuis. Frangetis  
 himself, if you-can from the-dead. Will-you-break  
 impetum vivi, cujus furias vix sustinetis  
 the-shock-of-him alive, whose violence 'you-can scarcely 'sustain  
 insepulti? Nisi vero sustinuistis  
 unburied? Unless indeed you-could-have-sustained (and resisted)  
 eos, qui concurrerunt ad curiam cum  
 those-men, who ran to the-senate-house with  
 facibus, cum falcibus ad Castoris,  
 torches, with scythes to (the temple) of-Castor, (and who)



volitarunt toto foro cum gladiis. Vidistis  
 ran-through the whole forum with swords. You-saw

Romanum populum cædi, concionem  
 the Roman people slaughtered, a meeting of the citizens

disturbari gladiis, quum silentio M. Coelius  
 disturbed by-swords, when in-silence M. Cælius

audiretur, tribunus plebis, vir fortissimus et  
 was-listened-to, a tribune of-the-people, a man most-brave both

in republica, et firmissimus in causâ  
 in (the affair of) the republic, and most-firm in the cause

susceptâ et deditus voluntati bonorum, et  
 undertaken (by him) and devoted to the will of-the-good, and

auctoritati senatûs, et divinâ et incredibili fide,  
 to-the-authority of-the-senate, and of divine and incredible fidelity,

sive in hac invidiâ, sive singulari fortunâ Milonis.  
 either in this odium, or singular fortune of Milo.

34. Sed jam satis multa de  
 But already sufficiently enough (has been said) concerning

causâ, etiam extra causam, fortasse  
 the cause (and) also beyond (or foreign) to-the-cause, perhaps

nimis multa. Quid restat, nisi ut orem que obtester  
 too much. What remains, unless that I-pray and entreat

vos, judices, ut tribuatis eam misericordiam  
 you, O judges, that you-may-grant that mercy

fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat,  
 to-a-most-brave man, which he-himself 'does not 'implore,

ego, etiam, hoc repugnante, et imploro et  
 (which) I, even, he opposing, both implore and

exposco? Nolite, si, in omnium nostro  
 demand? Do-not, if, in (the midst) of all our

fletu, adspexistis nullam lacrimam Milonis, si  
 weeping, you-saw no tear of-Milo, if (his)

vultum semper eundem, si videtis vocem, si  
 countenance (is) always the same, if you-perceive (his) voice, if

orationem stabilem, ac non mutatam,  
 (his) discourse steady, and not changed (or faltering),

minus hoc parcere ei.  
 (do not) the-less on-this (account be inclined to) spare him

Haud scio, an etiam multò  
 I-do not 'know, whether 'he-ought (not) even (so) much  
 magis adjuvandus sit. Etenim si in  
 the more 'to-be-assisted (on that account). For f in  
 gladiatoriiis pugnis, et in conditione infimi generis  
 gladiatorial contests, and in the condition of-the-lowest classes  
 hominum atque fortunâ, etiam solemus  
 of-men and (lowest) fortune, 'we-are even 'accustomed  
 odisse timidos, atque supplices, et obsecrantes,  
 to-hate the timid, and suppliant, and (those) entreating,  
 ut liceat vivere; cupimus servare  
 that it-may-be-allowed (them) to-live; (but) we-wish to-save  
 fortes et animosos, et acriter offerentes  
 the brave and courageous, and (those) eagerly offering  
 se ipsos morti; que miseret nos magis eorum,  
 themselves to-death; and it-pities us most of them,  
 qui non requirunt  
 [we feel the greatest compassion for those] who 'do not 'ask-for  
 nostram misericordiam, quàm qui efflagitant illam,  
 our pity, than those-who entreat it,  
 quantò magis debemus facere hoc in fortissimis  
 how much more ought-we (not) to-do this for most-brave  
 civibus? Hæ voces Milonis, quas assidue audio,  
 citizens? These expressions of-Milo, which 'I continually 'hear,  
 et quibus quotidie intersum,  
 and 'to (the utterance of) 'which 'I-am daily 'present,  
 quidem, iudices, exanimant et interimunt me.  
 'do indeed, O judges, 'discourage and overcome me.  
 “Valeant,” inquit, “mei cives valeant;  
 “May-they-flourish,” says-he, “may my citizens flourish (and fare well);  
 sint incolumnes, sint florentes, sint beati;  
 may-they-be safe, may-they-be prosperous, may-they-be happy;  
 hæc præclara urbs, que patria carissima mihi  
 may this illustrious city, and country most-dear to-me  
 stet, quoquo modo merita erit de me;  
 (long) 'stand, in-what-ever manner it-may-have-merited of me;  
 mei cives ipsi (quoniam non licet mihi  
 'may my fellow-citizens themselves (since 'it-is not allowed me

cum illis) perfruantur tranquillâ republica  
(to enjoy it) with them) 'enjoy a quiet republie

sine me, sed tamen per me; ego cedam  
without me, but however (acquired) through me; I will-retire

atque abibo; si non licuerit mihi frui bonâ  
and depart; if 'it-has not 'been-allowed me to-enjoy a-good

republica, ut carebo malâ, et primam  
republic, at-least I-shall-be-absent-from a bad-one, and the first

civitatem tetigero, quam bene moratum et  
city I-shall-have-arrived-at, which (is) well regulated and

liberam, in ea conquiescam. O frustra," inquit,  
ree, in that will-I-rest. O (how) vain," says-he,

"mei labores suscepti; O fallaces  
(are) 'my labours (that I have) undertaken; O (how) fallacious

spes; O inanes meæ  
(have been my) hopes; O (how) empty (have been) my

cogitationes! Ego quum tribunus plebis,  
thoughts! I when (I was) tribune of-the-people.

republica oppressâ, dedissem me senatui,  
the republic being-oppressed, had-devoted myself to-the senate,

quem acceperam extinctum,  
(the power of) which I-had-perceived (was nearly) extinguished,

Romanis equitibus, quorum vires  
(I also had devoted myself) to the Roman knights, whose powers

erant debiles, bonis viris, qui abjecerant  
were weak, (likewise) to-good men, who had-renounced

omnem auctoritatem armis Clodianis,  
all authority (by reason of) the arms (of) Clodius,

putarem præsidium bonorum unquam  
could-I-think (that) the protection (and-aid) of-the-good 'would ever

defuturum mihi? Ego quum (enim sæpissime  
'be-wanting to-me? I when (for 'he very-often

loquitur cum me,) reddissem te patriæ,  
'converses with me,) I-had-restored you (to your) country,

putarem in patriâ non futurum  
could-I-think (that) in (my) country 'there-would not 'be

locum mihi? Ubi nunc est senatus, quem  
'a place for-me? Where now is the senate, which

secuti sumus? ubi illi Romani equites, illi," inquit,  
we-have-followed? where those Roman knights, those," says-he,

"tui? ubi studia municipiorum? ubi voces  
"so much yours? where the zeal of-the-municipal-towns? where the voice

Italiæ? ubi denique illa tua vox atque  
of-Italy? where in-fine (is) that your voice and (elegance in)

defensio, M. Tulli, quæ fuit auxilio plurimis?  
defence, O M. Tullius, which brought assistance to-many?

potest ne ea nihil opitulari mihi soli, qui  
can then that-voice 'bring no 'assistance to-me alone, who

toties obtuli me morti pro te?"  
have-so-often offered myself to-death for you?"

35. Nec vero, judices, hæc, ut ego  
Nor indeed, O judges, (does he say) those-things, as I

nunc flens, sed loquitur hoc eodem vultu,  
now (do) weeping, but he-speaks (them) with-this same countenance,

quo videtis. Enim negat,  
with-which 'you (now) 'see (him). For he-denies, he (indeed

negat se fecisse, quæ fecerit civibus  
positively) denies (that) he did, what he-performed for citizens

ingratis; non negat  
(who were) ungrateful; 'he does not deny (that those things may

timidis et circumspicientibus omnia  
have been done) for-the-timid and for-those-contemplating every

pericula. Commemorat plebem, et infimum  
danger. He-states (that) the common-people, and the-lowest

multitudinem, quæ, P. Clodio duce,  
multitude (or rabble), which, P. Clodius (being their) leader,

imminebat vestris fortunis, se fecisse  
threatened your fortunes, (that) he had-acted-on (and so treated)

eam, quo vestrâ vitâ esset tutior, ut non  
this-multitude, whereby your life might-be more-safe, so-that not

modò flecteret virtute, sed etiam  
only he-bent (and ruled it) 'by (his) 'courage, but also

deleniret suis tribus patrimoniis;  
he-tamed (and won it) (by spending) his three patrimonies

nec timet, quum placaret  
(left to him); nor does-he-fear, when he-may-have-pacified (and secured)



plebem muneribus, ne non conciliarit vos  
the common-people 'by (his) 'presents, but-that he would-conciliate you

singularibus meritis in rempublicam. Dicit  
'by-his 'singular services in the republic. 'He 'says

benevolentiam senatûs erga se, his ipsis  
(that) the good-will of-the-senate towards himself, in-these same

temporibus, sæpe esse perspectam, se verò  
times, 'has often been 'experienced, (that) he indeed

ablaturum esse cum se vestras occurriones,  
would-carry with him your attentive-and-complimentary-calls,

studia, sermones, et vestrorum ordinum  
(your) zeal, (and) discourses, and (that) of-your order

quemcunque cursum fortuna dederit. Etiam  
in whatever route fortune may-designate (for him). 'He also

meminit vocem præconis modò defuisse sibi,  
mentions (that) the voice of-the-herald alone was-wanting to-him

quam desiderarit minime, verò  
(to be declared consul), which he-desired but-little, for-indeed

cunctis suffragiis populi quod unum cupierit,  
(it was) by the entire votes of-the-people which alone he-desired,

se declaratum consulem; nunc denique, si  
(that) he had-been-declared consul; now in-fine, if

hæc sint futura contra se, suspicionem  
these-things may-be hereafter against him, (that) the suspicion

facinoris, non crimen facti obstare sibi.  
of-crime, not the crime of-commission would-stand-against him.

Addit hæc, quæ sunt certe vera, fortes et  
He-adds these-things, which are certainly true, (that) brave and

sapientes viros non tam solere sequi  
wise men 'are not so-much 'accustomed to-follow (and seek after)

præmia factorum recte, quàm facta ipsa  
the rewards of-deeds done-well, as (to seek) the deeds themselves

bene; se fecisse nihil in vitâ, nisi  
done well; (that) he had-done nothing in (his) life, unless

præclarissime si quidem sit nihil  
(what was) most-honourable if indeed there-may-be nothing

præstabilius viro,  
[there is any thing] better, (or more preferable) for-a-man,

quàm liberare partiam periculis; esse  
than to-deliver (his) country from-dangers; (that those) are

beatos, quibus ea res fuerit honori a suis civibus,  
happy, to-whom this thing brought honour from their fellow-citizens,

nec tamen eos miseros, qui vicerint suos  
nor however (that) those are-miserable, who have-surpassed their

cives beneficio;  
fellow-citizens in-good-deeds (and who have not been rewarded therefor);

sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si  
but however from-among all the rewards of-virtue, if (any)

ratio habenda esset præmiorum amplissimum  
regard was-to-be-had (to) rewards (that) the-most-ample

præmium esse gloriam; esse  
(and honourable) reward was glory; (that) it-was

hanc unam quæ consolaretur brevitatem vitæ,  
this-glory alone that might-console (us for) the shortness of-life,

memoriâ posteritatis, quæ efficeret, ut absentes  
by-the-recollection of-posterity, which effects, that absent

adessemus, mortui viveremus; denique  
we-may-be-present, (that) dead we-may-be-alive; in-fine (that)

esse hanc, gradibus cujus homines etiam viderentur  
it-is this, by-the-steps of-which men even seem

ascendere in cœlum. "De me," inquit, "Romanus  
to ascend to heaven. "Of me," says-he, "the Roman

populus omnes gentes semper loquentur,  
people (and) all nations 'will continually 'speak,

nulla vetustas unquam obmutescet.  
no remote-age 'will ever 'be-silent (concerning me).

Quin hoc tempore ipso, quum omnes faces  
But-even at-this time itself, when all the firebrands

invidiæ meæ subiciantur, a meis  
of-envy (and hatred) (of) me are-thrown-at (me), by my

inimicis, tamen celebramur in omni cœtu  
enemies, yet-however we [I am] are celebrated in every company

hominum, agendis gratiis, et habendis gratulationibus,  
of-men, by-returning thanks, and having congratulations

et omni sermone. Omitto  
'among themselves), and by-every-kind (of) discourse. I-omit

festos dies Etruriæ, et actos et institutos,  
the-festival days of-Etruria, both celebrated and instituted

hæc est centesima lux  
(on account of the death of Clodius); this is the hundredth light

et, opinor, altera, ab interitu P. Clodii;  
[lay] and, (as) I-believe, the second, since the death of-P. Clodius;

qua fines Romani populi sunt, ea non  
as-far-as the boundaries of-the Roman people extend, so-far not

solùm fama de illo, sed etiam lætitia  
only the report of this death, but also the joy (thereat)

jam peragravit. Quamobrem," inquit, "ubi  
'has already 'extended. Wherefore," says he, "where

hoc corpus sit, non laboro, quoniam  
this body (of mine) may-be, 'I-am not 'concerned, because

gloria mei nominis, et jam versatur, et semper  
the glory of-my name, both now is, and 'will always

habitabit in omnibus terris."  
'dwell in all countries."

36. Hæc, Milo, tu sæpe cum me,  
These-things, O Milo, you have often (conversed of) with me,

his absentibus; sed, iisdem  
those (here now present) being-absent; but, these-same (persons)

audientibus, ego hæc cum te:  
listening, I (will converse of) these (following things) with you:

possum non satis quidem laudare te, quum es  
'I-can not sufficiently indeed 'praise you, when you-are

isto animo; sed quò ista virtus est magis  
of-this mind; but in-as-much-as this virtue is more

divina, eò majore dolore divellor a te.  
divine, 'by so-much 'the greater grief I-am-separated from you.

Nec verò, si eriperis mihi, est  
Nor indeed, if 'you (are made to) 'depart (from) me, is

tamen illa querela ad consolandum, ut possim  
in-fine that complaint (left) for consoling (me), that I-may

irasci his, a quibus accipero tantum  
become-angry with-those from whom I-shall-have-received so-great

vulnus. Enim non mei inimici eripient te  
a wound. For not my enemies will-snatch you (from)

mihi, sed amicissimi, non aliquando  
 me, but my-greatest-friends, not (those who) at-any-time (may)  
 meriti male de me, sed semper  
 have deserved ill of me, but (those, who have) always (deserved)  
 optime. Judices, inuretis nullum tantum  
 the best. 'You-will O judges, 'inflict no such-great  
 dolorem mihi unquam, (etsi quis potest  
 grief (on) me at-any-time, (although what (grief) can  
 esse tantus) sed ne quidem hunc ipsum  
 be so-great) (as this), but not indeed this same, (so)  
 ut obliviscar quanti semper feceritis  
 that I-may-forget of-how-much 'you-have always 'made  
 me. Si quæ oblivio

me. [How much you have always esteemed me.] If which forgetfulness  
 cepit vos, aut si offendistis  
 (of this esteem) has-possessed you, or if you-have-been-offended  
 aliquid in me, cur non id  
 at-any-thing in me, why 'is not (the punishment for) it  
 luitur meo capite potius, quàm Milonis? Enim  
 'inflicted on-my head rather, than (that) of-Milo? For

vixero præclare, si quid accideret mihi  
 I-shall have lived perfectly-well, if any-thing should-happen to-me  
 prius, quàm videro hoc tantum  
 (if I should die) before, that I-shall-have-seen this so-much  
 mali.

Nunc una consolatio  
 of-evil. [Such great evil befall him.] Now one consolation  
 sustentat me, quòd tibi T. Anni, defuit a  
 sustains me, that to-you O T. Annius, there-was-wanting by  
 me nullum officium amoris, nullum studii,  
 me [on my part] no duty of-love, none of-zeal,

nullum pietatis. Ego pro te appetivi  
 none of-attachment. I 'have for you 'sought  
 inimicitias potentium, ego sæpe objeci meum  
 the enmities of-the-powerful, I 'have often 'opposed my

corpus et vitam armis tuorum inimicorum, ego  
 body and life to-the-arms of-your enemies, I

abjeci me supplicem plurimis pro te, contuli  
 have-thrown myself (as) a suppliant to-many for you, I-have



bona, meas fortunas ac meorum  
brought (my) property, my fortunes and (those) of-my  
liberorum in communionem tuorum temporum;  
children in participation of-your times; [to share

denique hoc ipso die, si qua vis  
your misfortune;] in-fine on this same day, if any violence

est parata, si futura qua dimicatio  
is prepared (against you), if there-is-to-be any contest

capitis, depono. Quid restat jam? quid  
of-life, I-demand (to share it). What remains now? what

habeo quod faciam pro tuis meritis in me, nisi  
have-I that I-can-do for your services to me, unless

ut quæcunque erit tua ducam eam  
that whatever may-be your (fortune) I-may-consider that

fortunam meam? Non abnuo, non recuso,  
fortune mine? 'I-do not 'reject, 'I-do not 'refuse (this),

que obsecro vos, iudices, ut aut augeatis vestra  
and I-entreat you, O judges, that 'you either 'add-to your

beneficia, quæ contulistis in me, salute  
benefits, which you-have-conferred on me, by-the-safety

hujus, aut videatis occasura esse  
of-this-man, or you-may consider (that these benefits) will-fall

in exitio ejusdem.  
(and be obliterated) in the destruction of-this-same-man.

37. Milo non movetur his lacrimis. \*Est  
Milo 'is not 'moved by-these tears. He-is-in

quodam incredibili robore animi; putat  
[he has] a certain incredible strength of-mind; he-considers (that)

exsilium esse ibi, ubi non sit locus virtuti;  
banishment is there, where 'there-may not 'be a place for-virtue;

mortem esse finem naturæ, non pœnam. Sed  
(that) death is the end of-nature, not a punishment. But

hic est eâ mente, qua natus est; quid  
he is in that (noble state of) mind, in which he-was-born; what

vos, iudices? quo animo tandem  
do you, O judges (think)? in-what mind 'will-you in-fine

eritis? Retinebitis memoriam Miloris, ejicietis  
be? Will-you-retain the memory of Milo, (and) banish

ipsum? et erit ullus dignior locus in terris  
himself? and will-there-be any more-worthy place on the earth

qui excipiat hanc virtutem, quàm hic, qui  
which might-receive this virtue, than this, which

procreavit? Vos, vos, fortissimi viri appello,  
produced (it)? You, you, O-most-brave men 'I (now) 'address,

qui effudistis multum sanguinem pro republica;  
who have-shed much blood for the republic

appello vos in periculo viri, et in  
I-address you in (the time of) danger of-a-man, and in (that)

invicti civis, vos centuriones que milites;  
of-an-invincible citizen, you O centurions and (you) O soldiers;

vobis non modò inspectantibus, sed etiam armatis,  
you not only looking-on, but also armed,

et præsidentibus huic judicio, hæc tanta virtus  
and protecting this court, 'shall this so-great virtue

expelletur, exterminabitur, projicietur ex hac urbe?  
'be-expelled, be-banished, be-thrown-out from this city?

O me miserum, O me infelicem! Tu potuisti revocare  
O me miserable, O me unhappy! You could reca-

me, Milo, in patriam per hos, ego non  
me, O Milo, to my-country through these (men), 'shall I not

potero retinere te in patriâ per eosdem?  
'be-able to retain you in (your) country through the same (persons)?

Quid respondebo meis liberis, qui putant te alterum  
What shall-I-reply to-my children, who consider you a second

parentem? Quid tibi frater Quinte, qui  
parent? What (shall I say) to-you O brother Quintus, who

nunc abes, consorti cum me illorum temporum?  
'are now 'absent, a companion with me (in) these times

ne me potuisse non tueri salutem  
(of my trouble)? (that) I-could not have-preserved the safety

Milonis per eosdem, per quos ille servasset  
of-Milo through the same-persons, by whom he had-preserved

nostram? At in quâ causâ potuisse non?  
our (safety)? But in what cause could-I not (do this)?

quæ est grata gentibus. A  
(in a cause) which is agreeable to (all) nations (and people) B

quibus potuisse not? ab iis, qui acquirerunt maxime  
whom could-I not? by those, who 'have-obtained the greatest

morte P. Clodii; quo deprecante? me.  
'repose by-the-death of P. Clodius; who entreating? I.

Quodnam tantum scelus ego concepi, aut quod  
What such-great wickedness 'have I 'meditated, or what

tantum facinus admissi in me,  
such atrocious-crime have-I-admitted in me, [have I committed]

judices, quum indagavi, patefeci, protuli illa  
O judges, when I-traced, laid-open, and brought-to (light) those

indicia communis exitii, exstinxi?  
signs of-common destruction, (and) I-destroyed (the conspiracy of

Omnes dolores redundant  
Catiline which they indicated)? All my afflictions overflow

ex illo fonte in me que meos.  
(and spring) from that fountain on me and my (friends),

Quid voluistis me esse reducem?  
Why have-you-wished (that) I (should) be a restored person (to my

an ut, me inspectante, ii expellerent.  
country)? whether that, I looking on, those might-be-expelled

per quos essem restitutus? Nolite,  
(from their country) by whom I-was restored (to it)? Do-not

obscero vos, pati reditum esse acerbiozem mihi  
I-entreat you, suffer (my) return to-be more-harsh to-me

quàm fuerit ille discessus ipse. Nam  
than was that departure (and banishment) itself. For

qui possum putare me restitutum esse  
how can-I think (that) I have-been-restored (to my country)

si distrahar ab iis, per quos restitutus sum?  
if I-am separated from those, by whom I-have-been-restored (to it)?

38. Utiam immortales dei fecissent  
Would the immortal gods had-caused

(dixerim tuâ pace,  
(may I-have-said-this in your peace, [with your permission and without

patria; enim metuo, ne dicam  
offence] O (my) country; for I-fear, lest I-may-say (something,

scelerate in te, quod dicam pie pro Milone)  
wickedly as-respects you, which I-may-say piously for Milo;

atinam P. Clodius non modò viveret, sed etiam  
 would [that] P. Clodius not only might-live, but also  
 esset prætor, consul, dictator potius, quam viderem  
 'might-be prætor, consul, dictator rather, than I-should-see  
 hoc spectaculum. O immortales dii! fortem! et  
 this spectacle. O immortal gods! O brave man! and  
 virum conservandum a vobis, iudices! "minime,  
 a man [who] ought-to-be-preserved by you, O judges! "not-all,  
 minime," inquit. "Immo vero ille luerit  
 not-all," says-he [Milo]. "Rather indeed 'may he 'suffer [his]  
 debitas poenas; nos subeamus, si ita est necesse,  
 merited punishments; we will undergo, if so it-is necessary,  
 non debitas." Hiccinè vir natus  
 [punishments] not merited" Is-it-that this man born for [his]  
 patriæ usquam morietur, nisi in patriâ, aut,  
 country 'should ever die, unless in [his] country, or,  
 si forte, pro patriâ; vos retinebitis monumenta  
 if by-chance, for [his] country; you will-retain the monuments  
 animi, patiemini nullum sepulcrum  
 of his mind [and courage], [but] you-suffer no sepulchre  
 corporis esse in Italiâ? Quisquam expellet  
 [for his] body to-be in Italy? 'Will any-one 'expel  
 hunc suâ sententiâ ex hac urbe, quem expulsam  
 this-man by-his vote from this city, whom banished  
 a vobis omnes urbes vocabunt ad se? O illam  
 by you all the cities will-invite to themselves? O that  
 beatam terram, quæ exceperit hunc virum; hanc  
 happy country, which shall-have-received this man; O this  
 ingratam si eiecerit, miseram si  
 ungrateful [country] if it-should-cast-him-forth, O miserable if  
 amiserit! Sed sit finis. Neque enim  
 it-should lose [him]! But let-there-be an end. Nor indeed  
 possum jam loqui præ lacrimis, et hic vetat  
 can-I now speak for tears, and he [Milo] forbids [that]  
 se defendi lacrimis. Oro quæ obtestor vos, iudices,  
 he be-defend-i by-tears. I-pray and entreat you, O judges,  
 ut in ferendis sententiis, quod sentietis, id  
 that in giving [your] votes that-which you-may-think, that



audeatis. Credite mihi, is maxime  
 dare-to-do. Believe me, (that) he [Pompey] 'will greatly  
 probabit vestram virtutem, justitiam fidem. qui,  
 'approve your virtue, justice and good-faith, who,  
 in legendis iudicibus, delegit quemque optimum, et  
 in selecting judges, selected each-one the best, and  
 sapientissimum, et fortissimum.  
 most-wise, and most-brave (and fearless).

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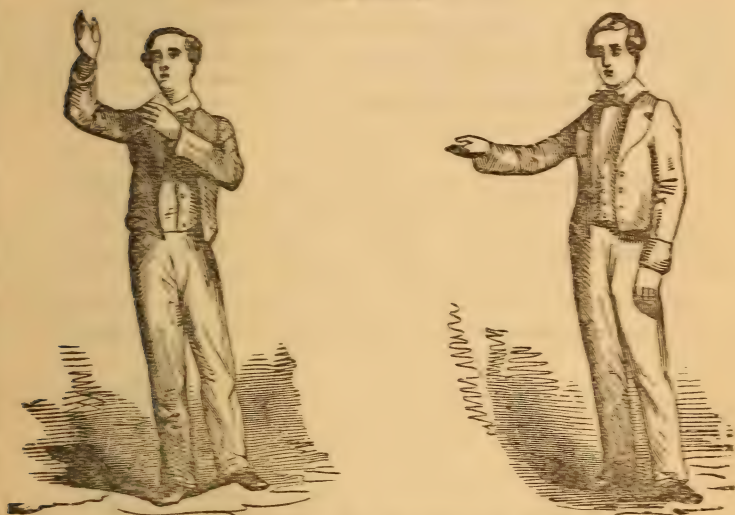
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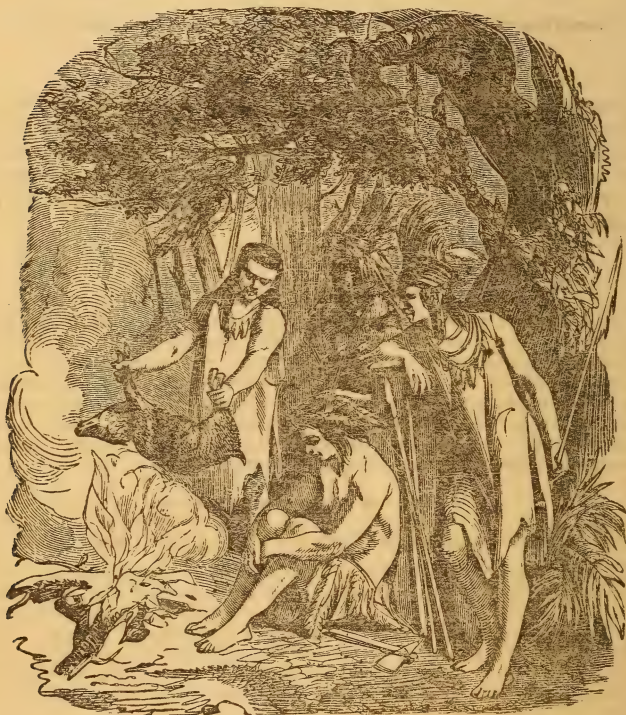
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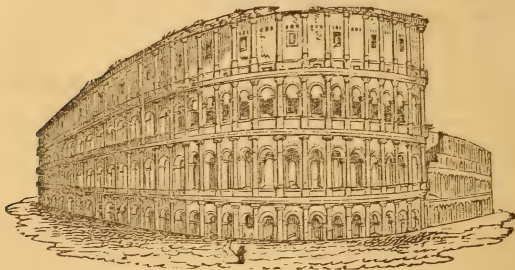
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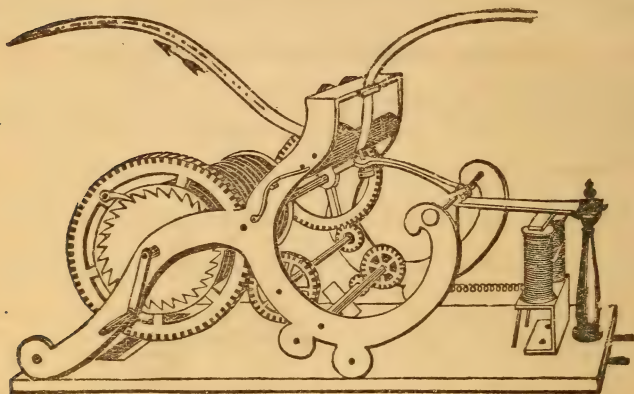
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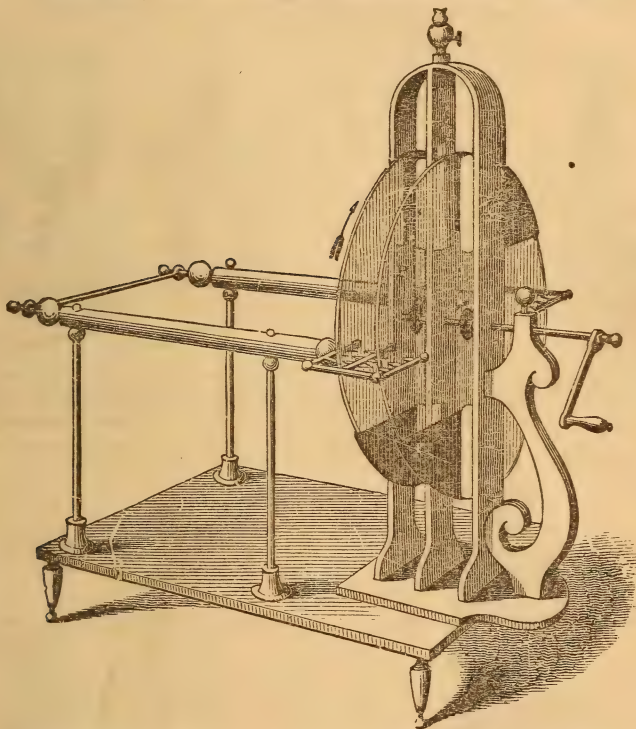
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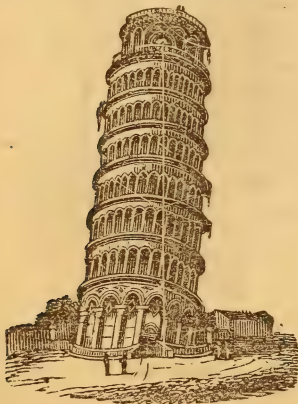
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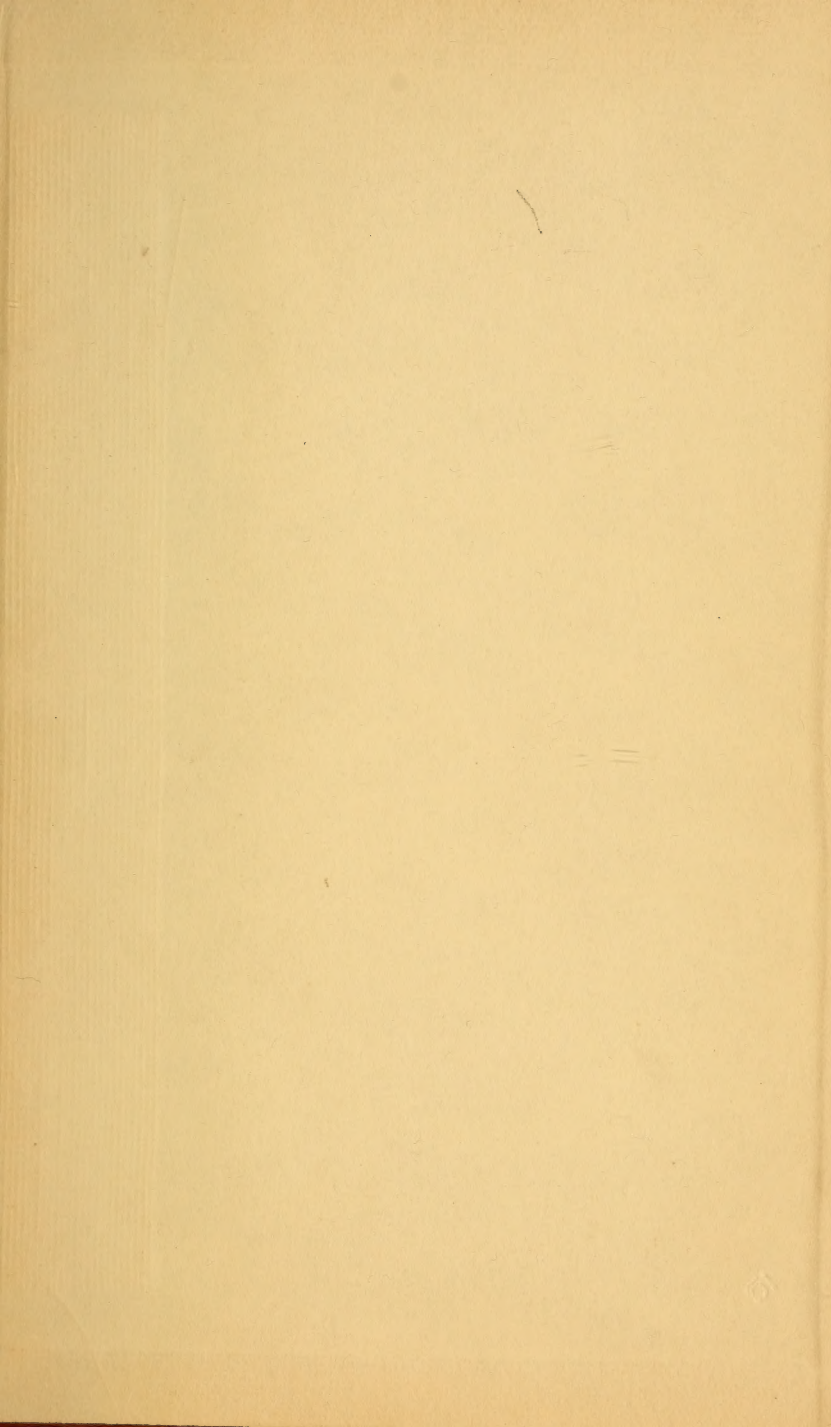
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